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THE

UNITED STATES OF YESTERDAY

AND OF TO-MORROW.

THE

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AND OF TO-MORROW.

BY

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AUTHOR OF

"TWELVE NIGHTS IN THE HUNTERS' CAMP;" "OREGON: THE STRUGGLE FOR POSSESSION;" "THE INDIAN'S SIDE OF THE INDIAN QUESTION;" ETC.

Out of old Books, new Writings, and much Meditation not of yesterday, he will endeavor to select a thing or two; and from the Past, in a circuitous way, illustrate the Present and the Future. — CARLYLE.

Whoever would do his duty, and his whole duty, in the councils of the Government, must look upon the whole country as it is, in its whole length and breadth. He must comprehend it in its vast extent, its novel character, its sudden development, its amazing progress, confounding all calculations, and almost overwhelming the imagination. — WEBSTER.

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INTRODUCTION.

THIS book has been written to answer questions. As the author in earlier days had spent several years beyond the Mississippi, and much time and travel there since in official work, during which he made ten tours over the border, and in the East had devoted much labor to public addresses and lectures on our new country, it was quite natural that a miscellaneous information should be solicited from him concerning the territory between the Alleghanies and the Pacific.

For various reasons it has seemed best to let this information group itself into topics, and so it stands classified under headings and in chapters.

If it seem that many authors have been cited or quoted, with volume and page given, the reason is obvious. They were better informed on the matters in hand than the writer, and therefore support his statements and observations with a wider authority.

The author hopes that the candid reader will not allow the magnitude of some of the facts and statements to mar their credibility. Such vastness must be both expected and tolerated in speaking faithfully of a domain much larger than all Europe, whose growth in all the elements of a nation has been without precedent or parallel.

WILLIAM BARROWS.

READING, MASS.,
October, 1887.

THE UNITED STATES

OF

YESTERDAY AND OF TO-MORROW.

CHAPTER I.

HOW LARGE IS "THE WEST"?

NEAR the close of the last century France was making wonderful growth in imperial territory and power. Her increase was so great and convulsive as to jar every throne in Europe. Edmund Burke anxiously turned the attention of Great Britain to her colossal rival, and spoke of ambitious France as "something which awed and commanded the imagination."

How large, territorially, would the France of to-day be in this country? Suppose Texas to be a circular lake and France a circular island; the island could be anchored centrally in the lake out of sight of land, twenty-two miles from any point on the encircling shore. The vastness of this State of Texas — equal to the capacity of England five times, and of Massachusetts thirty-

four — is not so very much overstated by the bold figure of Mr. Webster in his 7th of March Speech: "So vast that a bird cannot fly over it in a week." One accurate statement in arithmetical figures is so startling as at first to provoke an honest disbelief. Nevertheless it is true that if the entire living population of the globe — fourteen hundred millions — were divided into families of five persons each, all those families could be located in Texas, each family having a house-lot of half an acre, and then leave more than seventy millions of family lots untaken.[1]

Such surprises are constantly recurring if one follows up an ordinary school geography with questions of comparison. In the days of the controversy with England over Oregon, some thought it too small an item for so great a peril of the peace and blood of the two countries. The item puts on ampler and more important extent and issue to-day, when our portion of the territory then in dispute — Oregon, Washington Territory, and Idaho — is equal in extent to Great Britain and Ireland twice told, with a remnant nearly as large as Connecticut.

If Colorado were crowded into the map of Europe it would crowd out almost as much as Belgium, the Netherlands, Portugal, Switzerland, Greece, and Wales. If we were able to take

[1] We have followed Donaldson as to the area of Texas = 274,356 square miles.

immigraiton of acres, and nationally, we could locate in Dakota, acre for acre, Great Britain, Ireland, Belgium, and the Netherlands.

Suppose a parallelogram be made to corner on Milwaukee, with a line due west to the Pacific, and by the ocean shore north to our northwestern corner, and thence on our boundary line due east, and to Lake Superior and down to the point of starting, — that enclosure, being about three hundred and fifty-seven miles by seventeen hundred and fifty-six, would cut up into one hundred and twenty-nine Connecticuts.

Yet another illustration from that region will serve to impress on us the magnitude of our interior and Western areas. In 1864 Abraham Lincoln signed the bill granting the Northern Pacific Railroad. As a trunk road it might be assumed to open up a belt of wild land four hundred miles wide and eighteen hundred long. This amount of unsettled country the charter proposed to take from its prehistoric occupants — Indians and buffaloes — and give it to agriculture, manufactures, commerce, schoolhouses and churches, voters and jurors. That belt would contain England, Scotland, and Ireland; Spain and Portugal; Belgium and the Netherlands; Norway, Denmark, Sweden, and eight Palestines. And yet the most eastern depot of that road is fifteen hundred miles west of New England tide-water. A man visits those eleven States of the Old World, and is

gone a year on the long tour, and after his return he perhaps lectures or publishes a book on his travels. The next generation may travel as far in the cars on that belt and see as many marvels of growth as he would hoary wonders abroad, and not leave home.

It may enhance the force of this illustration of area to add that the amount of land granted to this road by the Government in its original charter was equal to all New England and an extra Massachusetts.

Probably few Americans, even scholarly ones, and certainly very few of those whose benevolence works in the extension of education and Christianity for the world, realize how much the American Union was enlarged by the Mexican War and the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo that closed it in 1848, and the Gadsden Purchase. That treaty formally included and conceded Texas, previously annexed, and the total addition to the territory of the United States was equal to one hundred and four States as large as Massachusetts; it was one hundred and fifty times larger than the Holy Land of Israel, the Palestine of marvellous record. Patriotism, philanthropy, and Christianity have been singularly tardy in going in where our sword went out; and the most of this land has won but little interest, though under our own flag, compared with the interest given by us to lands under the Crescent, and to the territory and home

missionary fields of the English Crown. It is one of the peculiarities of benevolence in the United States, that so much of the foreign field of the American church is the home field of the British Crown and of the Established Church of England.

I shall never recover from the overwhelming impressions of the vastness of our great valley lying between the Alleghanies and the Rocky Mountains, as they came on me when I first went down the eastern slope of it. It was in the autumn of 1840, when our steamer swung into the Ohio at Guyandotte, and we were seven days of fair running to St. Louis. Current and steam for a week to go down one side of this valley! Since then I have seen more of it, and only to deepen the thought of its immensity. Its northern rim is perpetually fringed by arctic lichens and mosses and firs around their ice-beds, and its southern is perpetually fragrant with the rose and magnolia and orange-blossom.

If you are familiar mainly with the valley of the Thames or Tweed or Merrimac or Hudson, struggle a moment with your fancy to measure this great valley of a continent. As aid and stepping-stones, recall your reading of Roman history when that Empire had its greatest extent. Consider how beyond the horizon in all directions Roman legions swarmed, capturing the great cities of the world and then returning to the Eternal City

leading processions of kings and nobles as captives and suitors. Yet this valley has capacity for the entire Roman Empire in the days of its broadest expanse, and half another! The sword of a Cæsar could never point so far over territory it claimed and awed as the peaceful hand of an American President is extended to receive the votes and congratulations of the Republic. Gibbon gives the greatest area of the Roman Empire at 1,600,000 square miles, and our valley is 2,450,000.

Europe is cut up into twenty areas, with as many governments. They range from imperial Russia to the principality of Monaco, embracing six square miles, — about one fourth of the extent of a Yankee township. The twenty realms of Europe, the entire continent, could be located within the United States, and then there would remain uncovered all New England, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia. This statement will not surprise any one who considers that the United States is nineteen times larger than France, twenty times larger than Spain, and seventy-eight times larger than England.

Our Pacific margin is worthy of measuring and considering by one who would speak correctly of the West. Its exact length, according to the United States Coast Survey, from the corner post on Mexico to British Columbia, is seventeen

hundred and forty-three miles, measuring and reckoning in, as is usual in such work, coast indentations. The shore line of the Territory of Alaska, measured from headland to headland, without regard to coast indentations and exclusive of all islands off the coast and beyond Oonimak Pass, is forty-three hundred and sixty-five statute miles. This includes the northern or Arctic coast line beyond Behring Strait and up past Point Barrow to Demarcation Point. Here is a United States coast line of sixty-one hundred and eight statute miles; and its extent will be more justly estimated in comparison with the total Atlantic coast line of Europe, which is only eighty-four hundred and eighty miles.

This coast fact contrasts strikingly, and for the United States pleasantly, with the very English assumption and prediction of Sir George Simpson in his narrative of "A Journey Round the World in 1841–42." The Oregon Question was then warming toward its conclusion, and Sir George, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, doubled his cruise on the northwest coasts in his interests in fur and English dominion. Evidently feeling and fearing the rivalry of the United States on that coast, and having said that our acquisition of Louisiana "nursed into life the marauder's plea of contiguity," he proceeds to add: "The United States will never possess more than a nominal jurisdiction, nor long possess even that, on the

west side of the Rocky Mountains; and supposing the country to be divided to-morrow to the entire satisfaction of the most unscrupulous patriot in the Union, I challenge Congress to bring my prediction and its power to the test by imposing the Atlantic tariff on the posts of the Pacific. . . . England and Russia, whether as friends or foes, cannot fail to control the destiny of the human race, for good or for evil, to an extent which comparatively confines every other nation within the scanty limits of its own proper locality."

This cannot now be so interesting reading to the English and to Hudson's Bay men, when Russia has sold out wholly in the northwest of America to the United States, and England holds there only about three hundred miles of sea-coast, while the United States owns sixty-one hundred and eight.

Some are unconscious of the vast area of our country, and so are in an amusing fault sometimes and provincial when putting the "West" nigh at hand, and great cities and sections in it near together.

In his "Famous Americans" Parton thus speaks of Webster: "He liked large things, — mountains, elms, great oaks, mighty bulls and oxen, wide fields, the ocean, the Union, and all things of magnitude. He liked great Rome far better than refined Greece, and revelled in the immense things of literature, such as 'Paradise Lost' and the Book of Job, Burke, Dr. Johnson, and the Sixth Book of

the Æneid." Herein lies a broad hint that geography as well as law gave Webster stimulus in his marvellous and varied defence of the American Union. He rose to the height of his great argument under continental as well as constitutional inspirations. In making up great Americans much use must be made of American geography. In our vastness of realm there is much danger that the East and the West and the North and the South will produce provincial men.

CHAPTER II.

SURPRISING DISTANCES IN THE UNITED STATES.

"HOW far is it to Chicago?" Our young English friend made the inquiry when that city was suggested as convenient headquarters while he might be running up and down the country on a tour of observation. When the answer was given, "Something over a thousand miles," he was amazed; for he was fresh from England, whose longest meridian diameter is only three hundred and sixty-five statute miles, from Berwick to St. Alban's Head, and whose narrowest measure is sixty-two, from the head of the Solway to Wandsbeck on the German Ocean.

Perhaps it is expecting too much that one should know tolerably the travelled lengths and breadths in his own United States; and indeed it would be expecting a great deal. Yet if one has completed a course of common-school or higher study, and can give a fair analysis of any one of Dickens's novels, or outline the status of the unfinished stories in the magazines, or give the prices on stocks or at the best hotels in Europe, one has a right to expect that he can locate leading cities in

the Union within a thousand miles of their true position.

When I once spoke to an intelligent friend of having been recently in Omaha, he inquired, with all the simplicity of one of Mark Twain's Innocents Abroad, "Well, did you see the Mormons?" He was surprised that I had not "run out" to Salt Lake City, "just back of Omaha," to interview those peculiar Saints. My answer surprised him more, — that having seen that whole conglomerate when they constituted Nauvoo, this side the Mississippi, I did not care to go a thousand miles out of my way to visit Salt Lake City. "A thousand miles! Why, I thought it was just back of Omaha!" "It is just back, as they say out West, where there is room to say such things." His question was as if one had proposed some morning, in Boston, to run down to Fort Sumter and see the ruins, or to run up from London to Stockholm, or down to Rome, in a cheap and temporary curiosity; for the distances in these cases are the same.

Parties start from Bangor overland for San Francisco, and the most of them are surprised to learn that when at St. Louis they will be only about one third of their journey. Yet then they have travelled as far as from Washington to Tehuantepec, air line, or from London, by water, to St. Petersburg. The completed trip is half a thousand more miles than from London to Monrovia, Africa.

Such parties may well be grateful that they were not called to the excursion in old emigrant times.

The trip to Oregon in those days is suggestive of distances and discomforts too, — from the seaboard to St. Louis (about fifteen hundred miles), and thence, with the comforts of a Missouri steamer, four hundred and fifty more to Westport. Here come the overhauling and packing and starting of the families and wagons and herds for Fort Hall, thirteen hundred and twenty-three miles farther, through wild lands and wilder Indian tribes. This Fort Hall was on the Lewis Fork of the Columbia, about one hundred miles north of Salt Lake, a trading-post of the Hudson's Bay Company, and for a long time their Gibraltar against the entrance of the American traders and immigrants into Oregon. From this post, of so much historic interest in frontier affairs, to Vancouver, another English trading-post and fort, was eight hundred and fifty miles, and then down the Columbia to the sea ninety, — a total of more than four thousand miles. Thus hardy and noble men and women went over the continent and founded Oregon.

The impression is common, and not altogether unnatural, that on the northwest coast American cities and business centres lie quite closely together. Yet from Vancouver, where the Columbia is a mile wide, though at that point ninety miles from its mouth, it is six hundred miles up to Fort

Colville; and from San Francisco to Sitka, the capital of our last purchase, it is twelve hundred and ninety-six miles, — as far as from New York to Havana.

It was in the autumn of 1870, — the Kansas Pacific had been opened through to Denver the summer before, — and I was passing New Fort Hays on Big Creek. The willows marked the watercourse as their line disappeared in the infinite prairie, and the conductor advised me to take a good look at those willows, if I were pleased with woodland views, for it would be a long time before I should see more trees. We ran west to Denver, three hundred and fifty miles, without passing tree or shrub as large as a currant-bush or fair-sized switch for a needy boy. To a New Englander, where the farms appear to a Western man as snug gardens walled in, this seemed a large pasture. The clumsy buffalo-herds tumbled off right and left like the waves of a chopped sea, and timid graceful antelopes, in little bands, would run parallel to the cars, and neck and neck, for three or four miles, in their triplet leaps, and as airy and easy as thistle-down on the wind. Acres of prairie dogs would stand like kangaroos to make observations on us, dodge down through the openings in the tops of their beehive mounds, and instantly show head and neck again for a new look. As twilight approached over the grassy and rolling expanse, gangs of coyotes would settle back

on their haunches beyond rifle range, and with stretched neck and wolfish manner howl at us.

At Salina, where we spent the night, the stockmen gave us some most impressive ideas of distances in that immense interior. Salina, with Brookville a dozen miles away, was then the nearest and great shipping-point for live-stock from that unfenced and infinite Southwest. The estimate for Salina that season was seventy thousand head. The owners, purchasers, and cow-boys made that a lively night at the lonely station. We arrived in the evening, and the morning revealed the little shanty cluster of railroad buildings as a St. Helena in an unlimited expanse of grass. In all directions were masses of cattle, like islands outlying far to sea. Making questions, and notes too, of numbers and weights and girths and prices, I began to ask about the distances that some of the herds had been driven. Pointing to different ones with my questions, the answers came back easily and carelessly, as if a few hundred miles in the saddle for the cow-boy were a slight matter: "Four hundred miles;" "Six hundred and more;" "From Beck's rancho on the Pecos, about six hundred;" "Well, Fort Ringgold way, on the Rio Grande, nigh on to nine hundred." Amazed at these replies, I said: "Why, how far do you drive cattle here?" "Stranger, that herd this away yonder has come a right smart thousand. Six months on the trail,

and the Redskins touched them at a levy a head for crossing the Indian Territory."

This was the nearest route, in 1870, for those ranchmen on the dim borders of American life and civilization as they started their Texan or New Mexican steers for the New York market. It was as if Webster's fat oxen were driven on the highway from Franklin or Marshfield to Chicago, and thence taken seven hundred and fifty miles by cars, that they might furnish the sirloin of the merry king who gave the name to it.

From those more southern and southwestern grazing-grounds the ranchmen started their herds for the North on the tender grass of January, and kept pace with the travelling spring, and so came upon the cattle-trains at Salina in early summer. But now, with the locomotive at San Antonio, Santa Fé, Tuçon, and Fort Yuma, the steers are ticketed through, and find a much easier and speedier way to the slaughter. So soon following in the trail of buffalo and antelope have come compass and chain and warrantee deeds, and farms and city plots; acres of prairie dogs have been ploughed in for so much wheat to the acre; and planted groves break the monotonous and treeless expanse, and throw grateful shade over frolicking children, and anvils so musical of thrift, and over family altars so prophetic and insuring of "whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things

are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, and whatsoever things are of good report."

The time is not far gone by when similar prairies, smaller and more broken by timber, held their primitive sway between Chicago and Cairo. When in the saddle in early days on those plains, and often without a trail, and only a compass for a guide, another horseman like myself could be seen for hours before our converging lines brought us within hail, like two ships speaking each other in mid-ocean. Pleasant memories linger still around our deer-camp on the edge, or rather in the suburbs, of Girard City. Probably it is larger now; but then it consisted of a huge pile of crumbling brick, a roofless log-cabin, and rows of stakes running off very regularly into the prairie. The deer jumped them easily as they struck out across five denominational church-lots, the court-house grounds, and the college square. The city was peopled with the fancies of Eastern speculators and owners of blocks and corner lots, with now and then a living man as a spectator of prospects.

In planning an easy and interesting tour into the West seven years ago, he of the Eastern seaboard would naturally and very properly wish to see three of the most interesting cities in the upper interior, — St. Louis, Chicago, and St. Paul. Yet how many would arrange for more than a thousand miles of travel in completing the triangle of the

three? In the order named the distances by rail would be 280, 420, and 368 miles, — now very much less.

Our railroad from Chicago to San Francisco is about twenty-three hundred and fifty miles, and the daily trains starting out from each terminus with full coaches indicate that the road is an American necessity. The distance traversed by it will be better understood by a European and by those Americans who travel mainly in foreign lands, and so the United States will be more intelligently measured if we take this road to Europe for a measuring illustration. Suppose, therefore, that we place the Chicago terminus on London as a turn-table, and sweep the road round, as the hand on the dial of a clock, and thus see where the San Francisco terminus would rest. For convenience, an air line is assumed between its two real termini and between the illustrating ones that are about to be named. Giving it a northerly direction from London, its San Francisco terminus will rest in the extreme north of Iceland. Moving off to the right, it will extend almost to the head of the Gulf of Bothnia, and just reach St. Petersburg, opening communication between those two grand capitals in air line, as the crow flies. One third of the Black Sea will be shadowed by the moving index which, passing on, cuts its circle midway through the deserts of Barca and Sahara and enters the Atlantic among the Canary Islands. Thence, in

its home curve, taking in the Azores and two thirds of the Atlantic between London and Newfoundland, it will close its circle in northern Iceland.

On this topic of distances within the dominion of the United States we introduce but one more illustration to aid the fancy in finding facts. If one will take an air line from Quoddy Head, in Lubec, the most eastern point of Maine, to the mouth of the Straits of San Juan de Fuca, where they empty into the Pacific on the southern coast of Vancouver, he will find that he is on the true air line to the most western of the Aleutian Islands. The line thus indicated measures the distance between the extreme eastern and western points of United States territory. Not speaking exactly as if casting the transit of Venus, the half-way point in this line is about two hundred miles to the west of the mouth of these straits on the Pacific coast. So far, therefore, beyond Vancouver one must go "out West" before he will be half-way over the American limits. After leaving Maine on this air line he will trespass on the Queen's dominion till he arrive at Rainy Lake, above Lake Superior, beyond which till he enter Pacific waters he will be on American soil.

CHAPTER III.

THE SIX GROWTHS OF THE UNITED STATES.

"I NEED not remark to you that the flank and rear of the United States are possessed by other powers, and formidable ones too. . . . If the Spaniards on their right and Great Britain on their left, instead of throwing stumbling-blocks in their way, as they now do, should hold out lures for their trade and alliance! When they gain strength, which will be sooner than most people conceive. . . . The Western States hang upon a pivot; the touch of a feather would turn them any way."

Thus wrote Washington to Governor Harrison of Virginia in 1784, after he had made a tour of the border over the Alleghanies.

Of course, increase of territory by the United States was indispensable, inevitable, and irresistible. "To have more land" ran in English blood, and through the colonial veins into the body politic of the infant Republic. The English fathers had crowded back the Spanish, in their arrogant claims, from Virginia to Florida, and the Dutch from New York, and the French from the continent. In 1754, and at the early age of twenty-two, Colonel

Washington planted the first British banner on the Western waters, and in the still struggling days of the Republic the region beyond the Ohio of the Upper Mississippi was organized into the "County of Illinois, State of Virginia." So early the new-born Republic took possession where the mother country had driven out the French for quite another purpose a few years before.

This inherited Saxon hunger for land showed itself signally when the colonies and their allies and the mother country met to adjust boundary lines after the Revolution. Spain would exclude the Republic from the Lower Mississippi, and she drew from Franklin the sharp remark: "Spain has taken four years to consider whether she would treat with us or not. Give her forty, and let us in the mean time mind our own business." In his excellent "History of the Mississippi Valley," Monette says that "during the greater part of the negotiations preceding the treaty Mr. Oswald, the British commissioner, persisted in his demands that the Ohio River should form the northwestern boundary of the United States; and it was only after every effort had failed to move Mr. Adams and Mr. Jay that he consented to adopt the present boundary through the middle of the Great Lakes."[1] As conditions of peace that

[1] History of the Discovery and Settlement of the Valley of the Mississippi. By John W. Monette, M.D. In two volumes. Vol. ii. pp. 212, 213.

could not be departed from, Franklin named the Great Lakes and the Mississippi as boundaries, and in reply to the diplomatic Vergennes, who was urging the demands of Spain, Jay said: "We shall be content with no boundaries short of the Mississippi." At times when Oswald the Scotchman so insisted that the boundary should be the watershed that separates the streams for the Atlantic from those for the lakes and the great valley, it did seem as if they might adjourn the dispute to a second Yorktown.

Of course such a people, when their new government was tolerably consolidated, would find increase of territory not only desirable but indispensable, especially if adjoining lands were lying in a wild and crude state.

The temptation and necessity and offer were not long in coming. The United States of 1783 owned no acre of land on the Gulf of Mexico or beyond the Mississippi, nor a rood on the entire eastern bank of the Mississippi below latitude thirty-one, near the mouth of Red River. After the fatal fall of France in North America on the Plains of Abraham, she secretly conveyed to Spain the western half of the great valley, that it might not fall into English hands — as the eastern half did and very much other territory — at the coming council table. Overrun by explorers, cavaliers, and marauders, and with few settlements and a starveling development, it furnished a poor national

neighbor, and one that might become troublesome. For a working hand and a fostering government great possibilities lay beyond that river.

In 1800 that ancient Louisiana was reconveyed to France, and it was a great ambition with Napoleon to plant there an American-French empire. A code of government was drafted, officers appointed, and an army of twenty-five thousand held in readiness to convey the whole to that valley. But Europe was too stormy and English fleets were too many; so Napoleon did not dare the venture, and sold the magnificent property to the United States, the conveyance being in 1803.

Very much of what we now call "out West" lies in that first and imperial real-estate investment of our fathers; or, as Napoleon said to Livingstone, the American minister: "A magnificent bargain; an empire for a mere trifle." The "trifle" was fifteen million dollars, and assumption by the United States of the claims of American citizens for French spoliations not to exceed twenty million francs. The franc value was fixed at five livres and eight sous to the dollar. Up to June 30, 1880, the United States had paid for those spoliations, $3,738,268.98. That Louisiana Purchase exceeded the original area of the Republic by forty-five States like Massachusetts, if we concede that it extended to the Pacific, according to Donaldson's "Public Domain." Beginning on the Mississippi, the boundary ran up the Red River

from its mouth to what is now the southwestern corner of the Indian Territory, thence due north to the Arkansas and up to its head, and then beyond to latitude forty-two, and on that line to the Pacific, following the Pacific coast to latitude forty-nine, and on that parallel eastward to the Lake of the Woods, and thence to the head of the Mississippi, and down that river to the starting-point.[1] It will be noted that this embraced all that the Government owned west of that river prior to the acquisition of Texas, with the exception of the southern half of Louisiana. The original domain of the Republic was equal to one hundred and two States as large as Massachusetts. This addition was equal to one hundred and forty-seven, or forty-five more than the original.

The treaty of sale was signed by the French Commissioners April 30, 1803; and by a special Congress convened by Jefferson the treaty was ratified October 19, 1803, and the papers of ratification were exchanged October 21. As yet the territory had not been formally reconveyed by Spain to France, and this was done before the City Hall in New Orleans on the last day of the November following. The Spanish flag was then slowly lowered, under a salute of artillery, and the French flag was run up in the same way.

The French now held again, and for twenty

[1] Later and eminent authorities limit the Louisiana Purchase on the West by the Rocky Mountains. See note, page 32.

days, this "empire." Meanwhile American troops arrived, and on the 20th of December the tricolored flag of France slowly descended, meeting midway the rising Stars and Stripes. Salvos of artillery and shouts of the people were followed by the band with "Hail Columbia," and so the young Republic with that music started for the Pacific.

From the Louisiana Purchase we have all of Alabama west of the Perdido and on the Gulf below 31° north; all of Mississippi west of Alabama, on Louisiana and the Gulf, south of 31° north; Louisiana; Arkansas; Missouri; Kansas, all but the southwest corner; Iowa; Minnesota, all of it west of the Mississippi; Nebraska; all of Colorado east of the Rocky Mountains and north of the Arkansas River; Oregon; and the Territories Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Washington, Wyoming, — excepting a portion in the southern part, — and the Indian Territory.[1]

[1] As to the boundaries and area of the Louisiana Purchase, I have followed "The Ninth Census," by Francis A. Walker, and "The Public Domain," by Thomas Donaldson. In the Oregon controversy with Great Britain the United States based her claim in part on the Louisiana Purchase. (Oregon : the Struggle for Possession. By William Barrows. Chaps. xxi. xxii., and note in the fourth edition, page 211.) Greenhow states quite fully the opposite opinion, that the Louisiana of France and of Spain and of the United States Purchase did not extend to the Pacific. (The History of Oregon and California. By Robert Greenhow. 1846. Chap. xiii.) It is still a question *sub lite* among good scholars. Decision either way will not vary the statement of areas above given for the national domain..

The next addition to the domain of the Union was Florida, — an area of seven States like Massachusetts, — and it was made not only in the interests of the Republic, but of humanity, civilization, and Christianity. From its earliest history it had been a field of international jealousy, struggle, and blood. The Spanish, French, English, and Indians had made it a raiding-ground for plunder, conquest, and revenge. It was in miserable condition, undeveloping, decivilizing, and barbarous; a prey to Indians, negroes, and Spaniards, and subject to the marauding invasions of English and American adventurers till it came into the Union by the treaty of Feb. 22, 1819. Spain was allowed five millions of purchase-money, but was charged the same amount for Spanish spoliations on American commerce.

In this assumption of Florida one of those mercies was shown which an established and fostering government is able to bestow on a people and region struggling through a natural and crude state into a civilized one. From 1512, when Ponce de Leon, as the first European, began with cavaliers and priests to flounder through its everglades and astonish and anger its simple natives, that region was without government or development or much increase of population. It is true, when her flag was lowered at St. Augustine for the American, it had floated over that old city since 1565, with intervals of omission; and yet, so near the close

of two hundred and fifty years, but little more land was occupied than at the beginning. The interior was as wild as ever, and the total European population was only six or seven thousand. Elsewhere and at times it had sported English and French colors, as well as the nameless banners of invaders from the colonies and States on the north. Generals Gaines and Jackson, for the American side, mingled at last in the fray where three other nations kept up discord and uncertainty; and finally the battle was closed by a purchase of the field, and so the fruits of peace came under cultivation.

The case of Texas did not vary much from that of Florida in its civil and developing condition. It was another unknown section of the New World overrun by discoverers, invaders, and freebooters. For long generations property, person, and conscience had but faint recognition, and its government was despotic, insurrectionary, or revolutionary, as suited the whim of the place and the hour. The home government of Mexico was more nominal than real over distant Texas, and this border territory of New Spain waited long in the dawn of the coming day from the North. Her independent entrance into the American Union of States was Dec. 29, 1845; and her formal and full one by the consent of Mexico was in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Feb. 2, 1848. And so the equivalent of thirty-

four States as large as Massachusetts enlarged the Union.

The admission of Texas into the American Union was a case of mutual favor, and in the long results as seen so far, and in the failure of some provincial schemes then warm and divisive, the consequences have assumed a national and most gratifying magnitude. It was very much to confer law and order on so extensive a region and naturally so rich in the staples that are the basis of national wealth; and into what a civil chaos our act of annexation introduced government may be inferred from one fact. At the date of admission it was an open question whether Texas ought not to have been included in the Florida treaty of 1819 as a part of the French territory of Louisiana, and some of our statesmen — as Benton — criticised others — as Adams and Calhoun, parties to the negotiation of the Florida treaty — for not then including Texas on the American side as against Mexican claims. In so rude a condition and so little removed was that region then from primitive nature, that even its nationality was a matter of doubt among diplomatists and statesmen, although it assumed independence of Mexico in 1835, and was recognized by the United States in 1837. To these inorganic elements additions had been made by emigrants from the States, the loss of many of whom on the one side of the boundary and gain on the other were equally

equivocal. Texas was admitted to the American Union in 1845.

The addition of California and New Mexico to the domain of the United States was but an elongation and termination of the Texan scheme. In the logic of war, and especially with the irrepressible American people on the one side and the Mexican on the other, the addition was a result inevitable, and indeed foreordained. The general condition of things, as found in Louisiana and in Florida and Texas, was inviting and tempting in those two Mexican States, California and New Mexico. They were rich in natural resources, sparsely peopled, low in civilization, poorly developed, and under the changing shadows of a distant and mostly nominal government.

In the acquisition there was thrown on the American people and Government this expanse of wild border land, whose scattered inhabitants knew civil law mostly as a law of force, which each man carried with him somewhat as in the stirrup. The blood was three fourths native and prehistoric Mexican or Aztec, tinged with Indian, and with European, direct by immigration or through the border American. Much of this blood, and the more energetic portion of it, was half-breed, coming indifferently from somewhere.

The addition to the Union of such an expanse of territory, and so rich naturally, with the Spanish civilization of the seventeenth century creeping

over it, presented a new and very serious problem to the old United States. How much of the seventeenth century, as Old Spain exported it to New Spain, could we carry on one fourth of the entire country? How could we digest and assimilate so much crude material in wealth and mixed population and mediæval society? Possessing only vaguely the rudiments of law, social life, Christianity, and education, how long a time would be needed for the spelling-book and New Testament and marriage ceremony to prepare this new land for the ballot and jury box of our popular government? It might be worthy of an investigation by our benevolent societies to ascertain which process has been the more successful for the first twenty-five years within our new border, — the Americanizing or the Mexicanizing. In such an investigation persons and papers could not be used to any great extent, since our benevolent energies have worked in other directions and filed reports on other fields. Business could report, if benevolent education cannot; and the Government can tell how many more Indians it has shot than the Church has converted. The American administration of Christianity for the world is preparing material for some amazing and humiliating chapters of history on the home field, under the subheads of Indian, African, and Mexican.

Following the acquisition of California and New Mexico in the treaty of 1848, there came into the

national and public domain additional territory from Mexico by what is called the Gadsden Purchase. This consisted of 45,535 square miles, — equal to five States like Massachusetts, — now constituting the southern portions of New Mexico and Arizona. The treaty was made in 1853. The reasons for the purchase are not made perfectly obvious by the official papers. In "The Public Domain" Donaldson says: "This purchase was for the purpose of more correctly defining and making a more regular line and certain boundary between the United States and Mexico." Forty-five thousand square miles would seem to be more than ample for correcting, straightening, and defining a boundary of five hundred miles, more or less. However, after this was all done by ten millions of purchase-money, — "to strengthen and more firmly maintain the peace which happily prevails between the two Republics," — exceptionally rich mines, even for Mexico, were said to be found in ample measure on the United States side of the corrected and peaceful line.

"O si angulus ille
Proximus accedat qui nunc deformat agellum."

The last addition, and the sixth, that has been made to the territory of the United States was Alaska. The treaty of purchase was concluded March 30, 1867, ratified May 28, and the territory was formally conveyed to the United States

October 18 of the same year. The price paid was $7,200,000, and the area bought was 577,390 square miles, being a little less than two cents for an acre. In the Louisiana Purchase the cost was a little less than three cents for an acre. The area equals seventy-one States like Massachusetts. Mr. Secretary Seward negotiated the purchase, and at a public dinner given when he retired to private life he remarked that he regarded the act as the most important in his official life, and he added, "But it may take two generations before the purchase is appreciated."

Of its entire area the islands are estimated to make about thirty-one thousand square miles, and their water edge, with the shores of the mainland and bays, aggregates a coast line of about twenty-five thousand miles, — the circumference of the earth. This is by estimation and not measurement, as the Coast Survey of the Government has not yet run out and reported the shore indentations of the Alaskan purchase.

As to the natural and staple products of Alaska, it can supply ice for the universal Pacific trade. It may, however, sound strange to say that it must be harvested inland mainly, since the average cold of the shore will not uniformly insure a crop. For the last forty-five years the mercury has been below zero only four times at Sitka, and not once under four below. Immense rains mark the winter, sometimes to the amount of eighty-one

inches a year, and the spring opens so early that at Sitka the wild gooseberry has been found in blossom on the 17th of March. The winter average zero line leaves the continent at Behring's Strait, and in the neighborhood of the Aleutian Mountains and on the southwest coast the mercury rarely goes down to zero. The country is ample in good timber for the navies of the world, and hemlock, cedar, and the yellow pine extend over thousands of miles. Coal, iron, and copper are found in rich deposits, and on the Columbian edge of the territory the English are reported as taking out a million of gold annually. And what will be more, by and by, for the tourists from the hot zone, Alaska has three hundred moving glaciers and ice-fields. But it is too early to speak confidently on the products of the interior. When the Yukon Valley, navigable fifteen hundred miles by steam, has been as well examined as the Colorado, and when the whole territory is as well described as Colorado is by Hayden's splendid Geological and Geographical Atlas of it in twenty maps, Seward's two generations will probably have gone by in one, and then the wisdom of his purchase will be verified and confirmed.

At present we can content ourselves with the fact that for international commerce its fishing-grounds are not surpassed for area, variety, and quality in the world; while its seal-fisheries, confined to two or three of its fifty-five islands over

three miles long, are paying four per cent on the cost, and have already paid off three million dollars of the principal.

It is to be regretted that we have not kept up the civilizing institutions that the Russian Government had established among the sixty thousand natives, but have allowed them to fail. Should it not modify our Protestant criticism of the Greek Church, that they carry their form of Christianity and the school with their national flag? I have referred to the humiliating chapters that must by and by go into the history of our popular administration of Christianity under the subheads of Indian, African, and Mexican. It is not too late to prevent the addition of an Alaskan. Of the quality of the Alaskans — including under that term the natives of both the mainland and the islands — Hon. Vincent Colyer, special Indian commissioner to that Territory, says: "I do not hesitate to say that if three fourths of them were landed in New York as coming from Europe, they would be selected as among the most intelligent of the many worthy immigrants who daily arrive at that port."

CHAPTER IV.

GROWTH IN SETTLEMENTS.

WHEN the Revolution was accomplished, the occupied territory of the thirteen Colonies constituted an Atlantic belt about nine hundred miles long, and of an average breadth of one hundred miles. They were, in proportion to the magnitude of the whole continent, but a small area, only as a civil fringe on its eastern shore, and some thought they hung quite as loosely as the sea-weed. The nations of Europe were looking to see them tossed asunder by some of those great tidal waves of society which had torn adrift and swamped all preceding republics. Daring men, true to the Republic, had passed the watershed and built their rough cabins on the Ohio and its head-streams, and on some of the rivers of Kentucky. Here and there in the Great Valley the French trapper and trader and emissary, without a country or a home, lingered and wandered between the lost Canadas and the sold Louisiana. The Spanish hunters and explorers and cavaliers, who a half-century before had penetrated from Santa Fé to the Arkansas and Missouri and Mississippi, were looking with a

jealous eye on these intrusions of the English colonists. As they had come up into New Mexico ninety years before Jamestown was settled, and had their five hundred academies and training schools in New Spain when the Pilgrims landed, and owned both banks of the Mississippi as far up as the present northern boundary of Louisiana, — on the east near the mouth of Red River, — they were a willing and formidable obstacle to the westward growth of the young and seaboard Republic. Moreover, Spain occupied and defended both banks of the Mississippi below the Ohio, though much in violation of treaty, and with well-arranged annoyances exacted duties on all goods passing down the river. This was felt the more severely since settlements were advancing in a remarkable manner; and indeed, as Monette says, "The whole country appeared in motion for the Mississippi."

In a preceding chapter the growth of the United States in territory has been outlined under its six additions, by which the original area has been increased about five-fold. In this chapter it is proposed to illustrate by specific local growths how the population during the same time has been increased fully twelve-fold, and the area of settlement in vastly greater proportions.

The increase of settlements in the wilds of America had been stimulated by the Crown, and was well under way when the era of independence

opened. In 1749 there was a royal grant to the first Ohio company of five hundred thousand acres, which afterward came mostly into the Dinwiddie and Washington families, and finally into the latter. This tract lay between the Monongahela and the Kenawha, and the company became obligated to locate on it one hundred immigrant families within seven years. Five years later, and after Braddock's defeat, the Crown ordered a grant of lands about the Ohio to those wishing to settle there, and in quantities of not more than one thousand acres to a person, in order to repossess the country and expel the French. Grants were made on the head-waters of the Kentucky, the Cumberland, Clinch, Holston, and elsewhere in eastern Kentucky and Tennessee. Thus under the royal régime the passion for wild land and a farther frontier and daring exposure in the wilderness and among Indians was cultivated and gratified, and the young Republic inherited it.

As independence became more certain while the painful years of the Revolution wore away, Virginia, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York began to think more definitely of their charter claims to the wild country lying between the Ohio, Mississippi, and the Lakes. In mature judgment and with much patriotism the State rights were finally yielded, and these land claims, with certain reservations, were made over to the United States for the common good. But the reservations were

put on the market by the individual States and by the United States. Here, therefore, were five parties in the American land market offering border homes to all and any daring adventurers.

Virginia, with much foresight, moved off in schemes of emigration. One of her laws "allowed to each emigrant as a settlement right four hundred acres of land, besides a preference right to one thousand more acres contiguous. The boundary lines between any contiguous settlement rights were generally adjusted amicably by the parties interested, before actual survey was made. In these adjustments they were guided chiefly by the ridges or watercourses, or some other natural boundary. In this manner much of the country of western Pennsylvania and Virginia was parcelled out among settlers, and subsequently nearly all the country between the Muskingum and the Ohio on the east."[1] What Virginia retained lay between the Scioto and the Little Miami, and was called the Virginia Military District. The Connecticut Reserve was bounded on the north by Lake Erie, and was about one hundred and twenty by sixty-eight miles in extent. The Government also set apart a large tract on the east side of the Scioto to liquidate the claims of Revolutionary soldiers, which was called the United States Military District. These lands were offered in large quantities for fifty cents an acre, more or less, payable in

[1] Monette's History of the Mississippi Valley, vol. ii. p. 9.

Government certificates if the lands were purchased of the United States. The Western-land fever ran high in those days, — perhaps as high as it ever has in later and speculative days. "Public attention in the interior," says Monette, "notwithstanding occasional instances of Indian hostilities, seemed wholly engrossed in the acquisition of land, as if it were the only subject of interest, the only great business of life."

Of course the large grants obtained were designed for speculative purposes, and various expedients were used to effect sales and induce immigration; and thus the border settlements were carried farther and farther west.

Judge John Cleaves Symmes, of New Jersey, bought of the United States six hundred thousand acres between the Great and Little Miami, at sixty cents an acre, payable in the military warrants and other paper of the Government. This tract was sold in divisions, and again resold in small parcels, and so came into the possession of actual settlers. Major Benjamin Stiles purchased ten thousand acres of this Symmes tract, and so tempted immigration and extended the settled frontier. The cases cited are sufficient to illustrate the passion and practice of those earlier days in regard to emigration.

This fever for wild land, now so prevalent and especially so contagious along all the new railroads into wild country, is sometimes regarded as a

modern epidemic; while it is really as old as the Government, and three quarters of a century ago was carrying off as many, in proportion to the entire population, as are carried off to-day. Moreover, the front of this crude civilization then pressed westward against most adverse circumstances. It was not until 1784 that a regular stage was run between Boston and Hartford. Mail service between the leading cities was rare, irregular, and expensive, and of the nature of an express. Charges for single letters from Boston to New York were sometimes very high; the first mail line from Portsmouth to Savannah was opened in 1786, and in 1790 there were only seventy-four post-offices in the entire United States.

The original expresses in America, — for persons, not packages, — the public stages, were slow in opening their lines, and so kept emigration in waiting. At the same time the question of military roads and national highways was engaging the attention of the General Government; and as time and enterprise glided along into the first quarter of the present century, this became a warm question. In its discussion the conservative East and the progressive West began to show the pleasant rivalry that has since become a constant element in national politics. Especially were real estate and tide-water interests in the old thirteen States fearful lest a broad and wild frontier, and at low rates, should depress the land market, and an interior

river commerce lessen the foreign trade. Ocean trade and travel and benevolence were inclined to go together into foreign lands; while the nation was led by a popular impulse to a westward movement, and an interior growth, and an emigrating centre that would not wait for auxiliary legislation or be obedient to what was thwarting. The East was slow in learning what Washington said as early as 1784, after returning from the country beyond the Alleghanies: "Smooth the road and make easy the way for them, and then see what an influx of articles will be poured upon us, how amazingly our exports will be increased, and how amply we shall be compensated for any trouble and expense we may encounter to effect it."[1] Like other Western pioneers, Washington had little in response but rebuff, and men continued to emigrate much after the manner of Abraham and Jacob, until Oct. 26, 1825, when "Clinton's Ditch" was formally opened, and the first boat went through from Albany to Lake Erie, — ninety-nine years after its general route had been recommended by Cadwallader Colden, surveyor general for the Colony.

New England had too much land of its own on the market to favor actively this westward movement. The Bay State was holding much of the wild land in the Province of Maine, and was anxious to sell and settle it. By a lottery scheme

[1] Letter to Governor Harrison, 1784.

it put a large number of townships on the public, hoping that those who drew a prize would immigrate to it, and so colonies be founded. The plan failed to a large extent. Those who obtained land declined to take titles, or were unwilling to occupy, and lottery land gorged the market.

When, therefore, the Rev. Dr. Cutler was negotiating with Congress on the purchase for the second Ohio company, he met with much opposition, and says of the delegates from Massachusetts: "I thought they would not be very warm advocates in my favor . . . when she is forming the plan of settling the Eastern country; . . . and I dare not trust myself with any of the New York delegates with whom I am acquainted, because that Government is wisely inviting the Eastern people to settle in that State." [1]

With such home interests in the old States, Western enterprise gained but little Government patronage either from Congress or the State legislatures, and it was left to more private and individual hands. This was well in the end, for it left these Western trails to be opened by men of will and force and energy who did not need State aid, and could safely fall back on themselves to see their purposes carried out. The men who blazed the forest trees for the bridle path and found the best ford with their own feet were men of sterling worth, and elect of the times, and did

[1] Walker's History of Athens County, Ohio, pp. 33, 39.

not leave their superiors behind them. Sacrifice of old homes, opposition, and hardships secured their numbers of first quality. He who has not energy and enterprise enough to be an emigrant would make but an indifferent colonist; and it is well for the country that such continue now in the comforts and luxuries of the old East, and enjoy being nursed by institutions that their pioneer fathers planted. Much of the marvel of frontier growth disappears when the superior character of the persons who immigrated to those new centres comes to be understood.

Conservative Eastern men in comfortable homesteads among ancestral elms, with little thought of planting trees and opening fountains for the coming generations, as their ancestors did for them, call these pioneers visionary men. Better call them men of vision. They saw farther, as they saw more, than those who preferred old trees and wells and acres. Another eleventh chapter of Hebrews on the secular side might be written, headed by such names as Boone, Kenton, Harrod, Putnam, and George Rogers Clarke. Those and their kind made bridle paths into the West, and planted block-houses and fenced towns and cities and States, while their brethren tarried to plant corn in the pilgrim fields of Virginia and New England. Those pioneers "all died in faith, not having received the promises, but having seen them afar off, and were persuaded of them, and

embraced them." And they also had cruel mockings and scourgings and bonds and imprisonments; and were stoned and sawn asunder and slain with the tomahawk; and wandered about destitute, afflicted, and tormented. They were men of great foreknowledge in their dim border-land, because they were men of immense foreordination. An incident here, with its many features, will be as good as a chapter to illustrate the points now asserted.

In 1782, while the struggle on the east of the Alleghanies between the Colonies and the Crown weakened toward the treaty of peace in the year following, the English with their Indian allies made it more desperate and bloody west of the mountains. The sorrowful disaster at Blue Licks had moved General Clarke to a campaign for the relief of the border settlers in the region of the coming Cincinnati. His work was well done, as always with him, from whom a word was enough for his splendid volunteers from frontier cabins. On their triumphant return, the dying McCracken, a gallant captain, was borne along on his litter toward his rude home. When they ascended the crest of hills which now overlooks Cincinnati, his eyes, growing dim, took in a grand panorama. The Licking Valley opened up toward Cumberland Gap, the Kentucky hills showed a magnificent amphitheatre, and the beautiful Ohio moved majestically across the enchanting landscape. The view to the dying man became as an inspired vision and ran

into prophecy; and he asked his comrades to make a halt and gather about him. When the glittering bayonets were quieted, and the borderers had patted their horses into restfulness, he took solemn promise of his companions in arms that fifty years from that day so many of them as survived and could do it should re-gather on that spot and make a second view of the landscape. The first dwelling-house of Cincinnati, the log-cabin of General Clark, was then two years old. When the 4th of November, 1832, arrived, the survivors of fifty years and of so many Indian skirmishes kept their promise to their dying captain. What a reality in the place of his vision! The half-century had caught up with what he saw. If now we make the time a round century, and stand in 1882 where that border soldiery gathered sadly around the litter and its dying man, we shall be better prepared to pay a just tribute to the men who have gone West and have made the United States out of the thirteen Colonies.

CHAPTER V.

ANCIENT CHICAGO.[1]

AND not yet fifty years old! The title of this chapter must seem jocose to a foreigner. It is very well for Layard or Rawlinson to write of ancient Nineveh, or for some Old Mortality to work up the Roman Chester of England or London Town or Santa Fé or Boston Town. The relics and skeletons, dust, cobwebs, and broken slumbers make very entertaining reading, with no violence to our respect for chronology or denial of our notions about antiquity. We rise up before the hoary head of those old human centres. But this Chicago is an affair of last week with an antiquary, — the growth of some stray seed from Jonah's gourd. The persons are alive, and yet have business in them, who attended the meeting in 1833 for incorporating this town, and saw the city charter for Chicago granted in 1837 by the Illinois legislature. They can stand yet in the doorways of their memories, if not of their original log-cabins, and correct the proof-sheets of this chapter on Ancient Chicago.

[1] Magazine of American History, April, 1885.

With a little free play backward and forward we propose to keep beyond those two dates of incorporation in this historical study.[1]

This volume is in no sense offered as a history, but only a carefully selected collection of illustrations of a marvellous national growth. For this purpose thirteen topics are taken to sample the general and magnificent movement. To set forth the rise and growth of cities, Chicago is selected. It is beyond all parallel in the founding and developing of the cities of the world. Inferior ones have been established — as Alexandria, Constantinople, and St. Petersburg — by the will of sovereigns; but Chicago is due to the personal will of a sovereign people combining voluntarily their individual interests. The surprise over its growth would be much enhanced if we could set it forth solitary for exhibition; but in the same historical picture a score of others take their place of a hundred thousand population and more each, which have sprung up in a similar way. Nor has this city ever made such great increase in brief periods as some later and eminent cities. In the first five years after the census of 1880 Minneapolis and

[1] Since this article appeared in the "Magazine of American History," in April, 1885, the first volume of a valuable History of Chicago, to be published in three volumes, has come to hand. With its aid this article has been revised, and credit has been given in the cases of new information. The work of Mr. Andreas is eminently elaborate, and must have cost much patient, painful, and expensive research.

St. Paul almost trebled their population, going to about 125,000 and 112,000 each.

Moreover, we are still building Chicagoes in the West. The United States is not driven to the defence of the lioness, — *Unum, sed leonem;* she is multiparous in her progeny of cities. Their number and growth can be appreciated only by frequent tours to the borders. Chicago is selected and set forth in commonplace details to illustrate the every-day work which is now going on in our new country. So broad has been the ground-plan of our structure, and necessarily so far apart the workmen, and each so intent on his own, that we hear and know but little of all this national upbuilding. No doubt some force must be recognized in what is said of the demonstrative quality of the Americans as they have been coming up to the front in the procession of the nations. Considering, however, the work accomplished in these one hundred years the silence has been almost sublime. A decennial census, with its unrhetorical, cold columns of figures, has been the principal speaker for America.

> "Like some tall palm the mystic fabric sprung:
> Majestic silence!"

When Marquette, in his Christian mission, lay ill in his cabin, at the Portage de Chicagau and mouth of the Calumet, in the winter of 1674–75, the fur traders came to his relief. They were

usually in advance of the explorer and the priest, and they early opened what in railroad parlance is now called the "Chicagou route" between Canada and Louisiana. It was in 1718 when Governor Keith of Pennsylvania sent out James Logan to explore for routes westward to the Mississippi; and of one line he reports thus: "From Lake Huron they pass by the Strait of Michilimakina four leagues, being two in breadth, and of a great depth, to the Lake Illinoise; thence one hundred and fifty leagues to Fort Miamis, situated at the mouth of the River Chicagou. This port is not regularly garrisoned."

Of the history of this fort there are no extant records yet found, and at the council for the treaty of Greenville, 1795, no Indian could give information concerning its origin.[1]

In 1773 one William Murray, an Englishman, residing at Kaskaskia, then so eminent, held a council there with the chiefs of the Illinois tribe, and purchased of them two immense tracts of land. One of these tracts embraced the most of the grand delta between the Illinois and the Mississippi, with a very large area farther north, and had substantially these boundaries — quite generous, considering the price: from the mouth of the Illinois and up it "to Chicagou or Garlick Creek," about two hundred and seventy-five miles; thence northerly "to a great mountain to the northward of the

[1] Andreas, vol. i. p. 79.

White Buffalo plain," about two hundred and eighty miles; and thence direct to the place of beginning, about one hundred and fifty miles. The outline of the other tract is not at hand. For the two tracts Murray says that the purchase was made "to the entire satisfaction of the Indians, in consideration of the sum of five shillings to them in hand paid," together with some goods and merchandise. Before the contract was consummated other Englishmen united with him under the title of "the Illinois Land Company." The whole affair carries a very modern air, especially with that addition of "other Englishmen," and illustrates some of the broader processes of to-day in civilizing and Americanizing the Indians. But five years later Gen. George Rogers Clark put that magnificent quadrant between the Ohio and the Mississippi under the American flag, and so swept the acres and Indians of Murray, with his English associates, into the young Union. In 1781 the Company pressed their claims for ratification by Congress, and the Senate entered this opinion in the words of the committee, which became a precedent: "In the opinion of the committee deeds obtained by private persons from the Indians, without any antecedent authority or subsequent information from the Government, could not vest in the grantees mentioned in such deed a title to the lands therein described." These primitive "Indian Contractors" worked their "ring" around Congress

until 1797, and then abandoned their project for civilizing the North American Indian. But they made another point in history for Ancient Chicago.[1]

The earliest trace of any occupant at Chicago is that of Guarie, a Frenchman, the corn-hills of whose cabin patch were traceable in 1818, though overgrown with grass. He located there prior to 1778, and had his hut on the river-bank, near where Fulton Street now meets it.[2]

This was the year in which General Clark, under the sovereign instruction of Virginia, and with a commission signed by Patrick Henry, Governor, conquered from the English the region between the Ohio, the Great Lakes, and the Mississippi. In October of that year Virginia erected the same into the "County of Illinois in the State of Virginia." Then the laws of the Old Dominion were as sacred at the mouth of the Chicago as at the mouth of the Potomac, and Chicago, equally with Richmond, was in Virginia.

But we have yet to find the first settler in Chicago, though the whole region is occupied by the Pottawatomies. After the treaty of Ryswick, 1697, which divided Hayti and gave the eastern shore to Spain, the colony there languished. The French negroes in it, many of whom were free,

[1] Andreas, vol. i. pp. 69, 70.

[2] The Discovery and Conquest of the Northwest. By Rufus Blanchard.

educated in France, wealthy, but denied political privileges, grew uneasy, and crossed over to the Louisiana, where they were welcomed by the French and became readily assimilated to the Indians. One of these made his home at Chicago, among the Pottawatomies, in 1779, and remained there till 1796. His name was Baptiste Point de Saible. He was "a handsome negro, well educated, and settled at Eschikagou, but much in the French interest." So runs the old record of Colonel De Peyster, then (1779) British commander at Mackinaw. Another record says: "At a very early period there was a negro lived there, named Baptiste Point de Saible. My brother, Perrish Grignon, visited Chicago about 1794, and told me that Point de Saible was a large man; that he had a commission for some office, but for what particular office, or from what government, I cannot now recollect. He was a trader, pretty wealthy, and drank freely."[1]

So far as yet appears, De Saible was the sole settler of Chicago for seventeen years, when he sold his cabin and other local interests to Le Mai, a French trader. Other fur traders were there meanwhile, but only transient; for Burnett, trading on the Kankakee in 1790–91, says: "The Pottawatomies at Chicago have killed a Frenchman about twenty days ago. They say there is plenty

[1] Wisconsin Historical Society Collections, vol. iii. p. 292.

of Frenchmen."[1] As a dwelling-place, therefore, with historic germs, this cabin is the embryo of Chicago, and her history proper dates from it.

Yet only in his last years there was Baptiste on ground fully and absolutely owned by the United States; for the Indian title was not extinguished till the treaty of Greenville, 1795. From the opening of the French war, 1754, the northwestern frontier had been sorely tried and wasted by Indian wars. When General Wayne assumed command over that district, he moved with so much rapidity and force as to gain from the Indians a name translated The Tempest, or Big Wind; they probably meant Cyclone. He soon bore down all opposition and brought twelve of the subdued tribes to the council of Fort Greenville, by the treaty of which an immense region west of the Ohio and south of the Lakes was ceded, as well as a large square embracing each of the military posts, not included in the general cession. This treaty extinguished the Indian title to Chicago and its environs by these words: "One piece of land six miles square, at the mouth of the Chekajo River emptying into the southwest end of Lake Michigan." Soon after that region came into American hands by the treaty of Greenville there were anticipations and rumors of a garrison at Chicago; and an energetic and adventurous trader thus writes to a Mr. Porthier, a merchant at Mackinaw: —

[1] Chicago Antiquities, p. 57.

"I have reason to expect that they [the garrison] will be over there this fall; and should it be the case, and as I have a house there already and a promise of assistance from headquarters, I will have occasion for a good deal of liquors and some other articles for that post. Therefore, should there be a garrison at Chicago this fall I will write for an addition of articles to my order."

The garrison was not long in coming, and no doubt "a good deal of liquors" soon followed. In 1803, Capt. John Whistler, of the army at Detroit, was ordered to build and occupy a post at Chicago. From the mouth of the St. Joseph the officers, father and son, with their wives, came down the lake in a row-boat, and so the first two white women entered Chicago. The settlement then consisted of four traders' cabins, the occupants of which were Canadian French, with their Indian wives. The post was named Fort Dearborn, in honor of Gen. Henry Dearborn, then Secretary of War.

The year following, the first white family moved into Chicago. This was John Kinzie, wife, and infant son, John H., from the vicinity of Niles, Michigan. He bought of Le Mai the old cabin of De Saible, which he enlarged and improved, and for many years it was the only dwelling of white men in that settlement of now three quarters of a million of people. He was properly

called the Father of Chicago, and yet he died as recently as 1828; nor as a city father did he live long enough to see great results. Three years before he died the village consisted of only fourteen houses, — all log-cabins, — with a total town tax of $90.47. The first frame building for business was not built till he had been gone four years.

When Fort Dearborn was built, the Government also established under its guns an Indian Agency and trading-house for the four nearest tribes, with the purpose that all business between them and the United States, and questions of trouble between the Indians and other parties, might there be peaceably and justly disposed of. It was also the plan of the Government to draw, through such agencies, the Indian trade under its own control, and shield the Indians from the corruptions and abuses of the Indian traders. But the system failed. The agents, selected from the East in the way of favor, ignorant of Indian and border life, proved no match for the old border traders and wily half-breeds. An extract from one report will sample the results: —

"An intelligent gentleman who has just visited Chicago informed me, July, 1820, that there were goods at that place to the value of twenty thousand dollars, which cost more at Georgetown than the traders ask for their goods at the post of delivery, and that the goods are inferior in quality and

selected with less judgment than those of the traders; that only twenty-five dollars' worth of furs was sold by the factor at Chicago; that the Government makes no profit on its capital, and pays the superintendents, factors, and sub-factors, and their clerks out of their funds."[1]

The citation takes us back three quarters of a century, yet we need not go back the tenth of a decade to find appointments to the border as inapt for the good of the Indian or of the United States. A civil service reform in our time, with competitive examination of candidates for salaries and chances there, and on such topics as Indian history, Indian nature, habits, and present condition, the scalp dance, green-corn feast, and drunken rows around smuggled whiskey, and plots of speculators for breaking treaties and seizing reservations, would set aside many tide-water applicants "totally unacquainted with the Indian country." And an extension of this "service reform" to benevolent organizations and offices might stay some from rashly assuming official and public work and honors beyond the Mississippi, who had never yet seen the waters of that river, nor even Cincinnati and Chicago.

The early years of this century moved on with a weary sameness by Fort Dearborn. A morning

[1] Report on Indian Affairs to John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, from a Tour made 1820. By Jedidiah Morse, D.D, p. 48.

and evening gun could wake the primeval stillness of that far northwest village, where now human voices and the locomotive and mill-whistles and the rattling industries of an immense city are making a perpetual riot of civilization. Indian bands came and went stealthily and in absolute silence, with moccasin and paddle; packs of peltry and fur made no noise as red trappers and white traders laid them down on the mud levee of the North Branch and South Branch; Pottawatomies, Sacs and Foxes, and Kickapoos came in, early and unfailing, for their payments, and the "good deal of liquors" of Porthier strengthened their patience in waiting; rarely an immigrant or traveller was challenged by the sentinel at this extreme point of American life, and much more rarely the birth of a white child varied the monotony. But the commotion of a storm was soon to put an end to sameness.

Prior to the War of 1812 there was a growing and hostile uneasiness among the Indians of the Northwest of that day. They regarded with anxiety the approaching and constantly aggressive power of the whites, while English influences over the border turned this toward an embittered hostility. Tecumseh, a Shawneese, with his brother the Prophet, sought to organize a great Indian confederation against the white movement into the Northwest. To this end he visited all the tribes on the borders of the lakes Michigan, Huron, and Superior, and

in the South, the Choctaws, Cherokees, and Creeks, as well as the tribes bordering on the west bank of the Mississippi. His success was not perfect, but it was formidable; and had not the Prophet precipitated the result, it must have proved most disastrous to our whole frontier. While Tecumseh was in the South, his brother brought on the battle of Tippecanoe, Nov. 7, 1811, in which General Harrison decidedly gained the day; and if the English had not come to the rescue with aid and comfort, the confederacy would probably then have come to an end. War with England was declared the next June, Fort Mackinaw was surrendered to the English, and orders were received to abandon Fort Dearborn, which was done on the 15th of August. In conference with the Indians then surrounding the Fort, it was agreed that this should take effect in mutual peace and safety. But the Indians proved treacherous, and when the garrison and outside families had proceeded but a mile or more, the five hundred Pottawatomies, who had agreed to be escorts, fell murderously upon the small band. Of the company there were sixty-eight soldiers, but a large number were on the sick-list, leaving perhaps forty fighting men. With these were ten or twelve women and twenty children, — about one hundred souls. It was hardly an hour's bloody work, and twenty-five of the soldiers and eleven women and children remained and surrendered. The fight, after the first onset,

was hand to hand and terribly earnest, even the women doing their full share. Hopelessness created desperation, and about fifteen Indians paid the penalty of their faithlessness.

The months were long and painful before it was known who were saved, and who the captives were, and much longer before they were redeemed and restored to kindred and friendly hands. The next day the Fort and the Indian Agency were burned. The day of the massacre was marked also in the dark calendar of the frontier by the surrender of Detroit to the English by General Hull.

For four years the charred remains of the Government buildings lay untouched, and the five cabins — all there was of Chicago as a settlement — stood vacant, and only the wolves cared for the bodies and bones of the men, women, and little ones who perished, — more than sixty in all. Fort Dearborn was rebuilt in 1816 and garrisoned with two companies of infantry. One of the first pious acts of the commandant, Captain Bradley, was to gather tenderly such remains of the massacred ones as the elements and wild animals had left, and give them a Christian and sacred rest. One by one the fugitives came back, timidly and nervously, as on bloody ground and among graves. Kinzie led the way, and took his old cabin again, — the house of Le Mai and of De Saible.

Very little is to be said of changes in Chicago between the rebuilding of the Fort and 1830. At

the latter date Chicago was not born, nor did it by incorporation and organization enter the list of American towns till 1833. Meanwhile a stray explorer or adventurer and a fugitive fact enable us at this late day to keep trace of the frontier waif, yet much as a handful of ashes in the drifting sands tells where the Arabs camped once or twice. In 1817 the Hon. Samuel A. Storrow, Judge-Advocate of the Army, visited Fort Dearborn, where, he says, "Major Baker and the officers of the garrison received me as one arrived from the moon."

Strangers arriving in that city now do not so surprise it, nor is it as difficult to find it as in those earlier days, when one was liable to miss the trail and pass the town without seeing it, as one incident will show. In 1827 Col. Ebenezer Childs contracted to supply Fort Howard, Wisconsin, with beef, and left for Illinois or Missouri to purchase cattle, and he says: "We started for Chicago, took the wrong trail, and went too far west. . . . We got out of provisions the fourth day. I found an Indian who had a large quantity of muskrats; I bought a number, and had a fine feast. We got the Indian to take us and our baggage across the Eau Plaine in his canoe, making our horses swim alongside. We learned that we had passed Chicago, having gone some fifteen miles to the west. The Indian put us on the right track, and we arrived at Chicago the next morning pretty well used up."

Three years later Schoolcraft found four or five families there, and among them our old friend John Kinzie, whom, in 1822, Charles C. Trowbridge met there. Kinzie was then the agent of the American Fur Company,—that is, John Jacob Astor. The year following is marked by a more distinct and emphatic record. Colonel Long, of perpetual memory on Long's Peak, then spoke of the place as consisting of three log-cabins "inhabited by a miserable race of men scarcely equal to the Indians from whom they had descended;" their cabins were "low, filthy, and disgusting, displaying not the least trace of comfort," and the place "affording no inducement to the settler."

Ebenezer Childs, of La Crosse, speaks of Chicago as he saw it in 1825:—

"At that time Chicago was merely an Indian agency. It contained about fourteen houses, and not more than seventy-five or one hundred inhabitants at the most. An agent of the American Fur Company, named Gurdon S. Hubbard, then occupied the Fort. The staple business seemed to be carried on by the Indians and runaway soldiers, who hunted ducks and muskrats in the marshes."

As to the number of the houses and of the population about this time there are apparent discrepancies in the authorities. The statements of

Mr. Childs apply to 1825, and yet we are informed in 1830, "Surveyor Thompson found seven families only outside of the Fort." The infant settlement was exposed to a second massacre. "In 1828 Indian hostility threatened a general attack on the settlements; but after the murder of a few immigrants a large volunteer force, added to the regulars of Fort Dearborn and Fort Armstrong at Rock Island, overawed the savages for the time."

The "Chicago Directory" for 1830 was not a very portly volume. The commercial and business sections of it condensed stand thus: Taverns, two; Indian traders, three; butchers, one; merchants, one. The poll list for the county election that year embraces thirty-two voters.

Religious germs did not appear till the following year, and Mr. Andreas well says, "As a whole, the Chicago of 1831 could not have been considered a pious town." The Methodists were first on the ground, as is usual on the frontier, always excepting the Jesuits, where there are Indian and Canadian villages. Protestantism would spread more rapidly and vigorously if its adherents were as faithful as the Roman Catholics in carrying their religion always with them. The quality of the two forms of Christianity is, of course, another matter; but they carry their best.

The opening of the school system in Chicago is quite romantic. In 1810 a spelling-book found its way to this lone village in a chest of tea from

Detroit, and came into the already historic house of Baptiste Point de Saible, then occupied by Kinzie. In the family was a son, John H., and his cousin, Robert A. Forsyth, afterward paymaster in the United States Army, who assumed the position of instructor. The teacher was thirteen years old, his pupil six, the course of study this spelling-book, and the school building was the "Kinzie house."

The first formal school was opened in 1816 in a log-house, once used as a bakery, in the rear part of Kinzie's garden. The pupils were this Kinzie boy, his brother, and two sisters, and three or four children from the Fort. In 1820 a school was taught in the Fort, and nine years later we find it in a room "near the garrison." In 1830 its twenty-five pupils are in "a large, low, gloomy log-building, which had five rooms." The main school-room was finally made cheerful by the white cotton sheeting which covered the ugly walls. It was a private school and Mrs. Forbes shared in the charge with her husband, while she managed the domestic apartments of the same building. Mr. Forbes afterward was promoted to the office of sheriff of the county, — whether from aptness shown in catching and holding frontier children is not stated.

While these varied items of fur trade, fighting, and education were working into a thread of history on that section of the "Chicagou route"

between Canada and the Louisiana, the coming civilization was agitating the Northwest Territory. Immigration had made its trail along the borders of the Lakes, had quite generally prospected the valley of the Ohio, and extended to the Mississippi. As early as 1802 Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio were in the Union. In 1809 the northern boundary of the Illinois Territory was run due west from the southern point of Lake Michigan, which left Chicago, the Kinzie boy, and his spelling-book of the next year in Wisconsin Territory. After the rebuilding of the Fort, Astor's fur-trading schooner began to visit the lonely town, anchoring there once or twice a year among innumerable water-fowl. Excepting canoes and batteaux, this was the only water craft that greeted it for many years. In 1818 Illinois came into the Union and Chicago came back into Illinois. Between 1830 and 1836 there entered the town in close and tumultuous succession the usual staples of a young and of course ambitious frontier settlement, — a post-office and town incorporation, several denominational religions by organization, a newspaper, a stage-line, Indian raids, rude bridges, critical foot-walks, a land office, and a canal company incorporated in 1825; the capital of which was $1,000,000, while the total valuation of all the land within the present city limits was under $25,000, and the town effected a loan of $60 for street improvements. In 1880 the valuation of Chicago was $115,003,561,

its taxes were $3,829,618, and its bonded debt was $12,752,000. Scientific accuracy finds a striking illustration in this canal project. Five routes for it were surveyed between Lake Michigan and the Illinois; the lowest estimate of construction was $639,946, and the highest $716,110, and Government made a land-grant way of 284,000 acres; in March, 1843, the enterprise collapsed, after an expenditure of $5,139,492.03. It was a State project, though Chicago was eminent in it, and in the year of incorporation had fourteen taxpayers only, with an aggregate tax of $94.47. The project was even national, for President Madison had recommended it by message in 1814. The same project gains a notice in the "St. Louis Directory and Register" for 1821: "In the course of a few years the Illinois River will be, most probably, connected with Lake Michigan." Also municipal regulations came in over the seven taverns, that they should not charge more than twelve and a half cents for a lodging or for a half pint of whiskey, or more than twenty-five cents for a breakfast, or for half a pint of brandy, or rum, or wine, or for a supper.

Immigration came around the end of Lake Michigan in tidal waves. The winter of 1831–32 is still carried in the memories of some, and history will never forget it. Four hundred immigrants were quartered in the Fort, and as the intense cold, the Indians, and the wolves closed in on the scattered

settlers, the entire body of the inhabitants followed the immigrants. The summer and General Scott raised the siege, when the cholera fell on them, coming with the stately general on the first steamer that ever entered that port.

The pulse of speculative life that throbbed violently to the eastward of Lake Michigan affected the finances of this young town. The Erie Canal had made a splendid success, and brought the Atlantic Ocean four hundred miles nearer; Ohio had rushed in growth; steamers were puffing on inland waters which canoes had hardly abandoned, and the railroad era had opened in the seaboard States with almost unlimited fancies of sudden wealth. Land values became fabulously increased on an infinite frontier of acres; thousands of miles of railroad were projected as into void space; the work and growth and fortunes of the next generation were anticipated, and telescopic values were put on front lots and corner lots and water lots about the lower end of Lake Michigan. Chicago went crazy when steamers came in and railroads promised to come. She did not then know that the Mississippi Valley has more than forty rivers navigable to the extent of more than fifteen thousand miles, and could possibly postpone the railroad era. Immigration flooded the city. Between April and September, 1834, a hundred immigrant vessels landed their burdens of men, hungry and famishing for land, while the procession in carriage

and saddle and on foot was continuous; and in twelve months the population went up eight-fold. So rife was speculation, that the town could not borrow two thousand dollars at ten per cent. Real money or coin disappeared except at the land office, — where it alone availed for land, and at a dollar and a quarter an acre, — and promissory notes, collaterals, and various wild paper flooded the market.

Meanwhile the average American, with his love of law and order, was there, and gambling-houses, Sabbath-breaking, liquor-saloons, and shooting within town limits were prohibited, and officials were required to give bonds. The land fever and the frenzy of speculation increased in wildness till 1837. A crash then came, as a cyclone comes, only that it was of immense advantage to Chicago in bringing it to its senses and to old-fashioned realities. In the year preceding, and before the town "came to itself," its exports, total, were $1,000.64, and its imports were $325,203.90; and it was not till 1842 that as much was shipped off as was received, when the population was 6,590.

Nothing could repress the city; reverses and checks could only consolidate it. The position was a foreordination to growth and greatness, and its success was inevitable and irresistible. Its splendid future was made evident and certain when the canal was opened in 1848 from the city

to the head of navigation on the Illinois, and a railroad with the East in 1852. Chicago was naturally located at one of the few rounding-points in the highways of the world, and yet a thousand miles inland. These two grand connections with the business world — canal and rail, especially the one by rail — admitted it to that family of cosmopolitan cities any one of which is a centre for the trading nations. The locomotive, which so ignores locality and makes the world migratory, made the city permanent when it arrived; and it occasioned the pithy remark that "up to 1852 nobody residing in Chicago considered himself permanently settled."

In 1838 shippers of hides ventured, with much solicitude, to export for a market seventy-eight bushels of wheat. Forty-two years later the city exported by water and land 22,796,288 bushels of wheat, and 2,862,737 barrels of wheat flour, making a total equivalent of 35,678,604 bushels of wheat.[1]

In 1833 a citizens' meeting was convened to incorporate the town. The total number of legal voters was twelve, and against one negative the incorporation was secured. One of the first town ordinances was to prohibit live pigs in the streets.

[1] Wheat ranges from four to six bushels to a barrel of flour, according to the grade of wheat and of flour. The above estimate is on the average for 1879, which was four and a half bushels to the barrel.

In 1880 Chicago handled, through her streets, 7,059,355 of them, besides 39,091 barrels of dressed pork.

The first white settler, Marquette, spent a winter there, and supplied his family market with buffalo, deer, and turkey, shot from his own cabin door. In 1880 Chicago had for disposal, not to mention other meats, 1,382,477 beef cattle.

On the 6th of May, 1635, the General Court of the Massachusetts Bay Colony passed the following law: —

"It is ordered that it shalbe lawfull for Mr. Leveredge to transporte ten bushells of corne out of this jurisdiccon, notwithstanding any former order to the contrary."[1]

At that time the region of Chicago was a good thousand miles into the absolutely unknown West. Marquette and La Salle were yet unborn. It is yet, then, in the Massachusetts General Court, thirty-five years before the first white man, La Salle, shall see the present site of Chicago. In 1880 Chicago, with no permit from any court, exported 93,500,000 bushels of corn. For six months, ending with October, 1880, the receipts of corn averaged more than one thousand cars of 24,000 pounds each for every working-day, — that is, there came into the city 428,571 bushels of corn a day. In 1837 the water-works of Chicago

[1] Records of Massachusets Bay Colony, 1635, vol. i. p. 148.

consisted of a hogshead on wheels, with bucket and faucet, for any one who would hail the wandering cistern, — such water-works as the writer found in Leadville in 1880. Now, Chicago lifts Lake Michigan as a goblet to her 750,000 pairs of thirsty lips.

Andreas gives a good pen-picture of the town as it appeared in the year of its incorporation: —

"The village was built along the south side of Water Street, and westerly toward the settlement at the forks. There were scattered shanties over the prairie south, and a few rough, unpainted buildings had been improvised on the north side, between the old Kinzie house and what is now Clark Street. All together, it would, in the light of 1833, have presented a most woe-begone appearance, even as a frontier town of the lowest class. It did not show a single steeple, nor a chimney four feet above any roof. A flag-staff at the Fort, some fifty feet high, flaunted, in pleasant weather and on holidays, a weather-beaten flag as an emblem of civilization, patriotic pride, national domain, or anything else that might stir the hearts of the denizens of the town. The buildings of the Fort were low-posted, and none of them exceeding two stories in height."

The first frame house for business had been built only the year before, and the first for religious and educational purposes, in part, this same year of

town organization. In a private letter to the author, the Rev. Dr. Jeremiah Porter says: "There was not a framed dwelling-house in town in May, 1833, and only three framed stores." The population at the time of incorporation was about two hundred and fifty, in which were eight physicians and six lawyers; nevertheless the population increased in numbers and grew in prosperity! The second hotel (the Tremont), built expressly for such use, was added to make this year eventful; and yet so rural was Chicago then, that its guests could lounge on its steps and shoot wild fowl in the slough before the door.

These glances at ancient Chicago would not be perfect if one scene were omitted. In 1831 about four thousand Indians surrounded the town with their wigwams, and covered the lake, shores, and creeks with their canoes, and trailed their blankets along the walks of the village. They were laden with their arms and paint, and carried no extra friendliness in their looks and manners. It was pay-day on the border, and the United States officers were there to pass over the annuities. The outside farmers, and the villagers too, might be excused for some nervousness, for Black Hawk's band had recently gone quite unwillingly to the west of the Mississippi, and it was known that emissaries from it were among the four thousand to beget a bloody outbreak. The September skies were peaceful and balmy, and yet it was an apt

time for the hurricane. Had the Indian tornado burst on them, they well knew that their two hundred men, women, and children would have gone like leaves before the whirlwind of four thousand. It was almost ready, but did not burst till the next year; and the haughty, angered, and drunken braves took their annuities, and went off moody and disappointed that they had no scalps to carry back. We can appreciate the scene and anxieties, from our experience at Keokuk ten years later. It was when that town consisted of twelve log and two frame houses that we were detained there some days. The Iowa Territory Indians were there in multitude, and were proving the thirteen saloons in those twelve log-houses — one double — while their head men were gone down to St. Louis for their annuities. In later years we found it another affair and wholly agreeable to spend some time with twenty-five hundred in a great Indian fair at Muscogee, in the Indian Territory.

The year 1833 was an important one for the town in many respects, and indeed it might be said that ancient Chicago was terminated by it. We have therefore tarried in collecting items which would show it at that time, and now turn for a moment to private and unpublished papers for still more. Our correspondent had been for about two years post chaplain at Fort Brady, Sault St. Marie, outlet of Lake Superior. He writes: —

"We sailed from the Sault, May 4, 1833; found no settlement on the western shore of Lake Michigan except the trading post of the American Fur Company at Milwaukee; reached the anchorage off Fort Dearborn Sunday morning, May 13. No harbor, and sea so rough we could not go ashore that day, and lay seasick in our berths. . . . Major Fowle had prepared for me a preaching place in Fort Dearborn, there being none but a log schoolhouse in town. That was the carpenter's shop. In it I preached the first Sabbath morning, May 20, 1833, from the words, 'Herein is my Father glorified, that ye bear much fruit.' . . . Mine was the first church ever organized at Chicago since the creation of the world; and on the 26th of June, 1833, by adopting the confession of faith of the Presbytery of Detroit, — the nearest to us. . . . By the 1st of January, 1834, I preached the dedication sermon of our house of worship. It stood 'way out on the prairie,' between where now stands the Sherman House and Lake Street. . . . In an unfinished loft of one of the three framed houses was my bedroom and study, and, for a time, Sabbath-school room. . . . Wisconsin, Iowa, and all the Northwest were then the abode of wild Indians."[1]

Dr. Porter adds an item which should be expanded to complete the view of our ancient

[1] Jeremiah Porter, D.D., Fort Sill, Indian Territory, Nov. 3, 1873. Private letter.

Chicago. Among the wasting remnants of our Indians there probably are not enough now within any single call to repeat the scene. He says: "Five thousand Indians, assembled, came to make terms of surrender of Illinois and Wisconsin lands for others west of the Mississippi River. . . . The council was held on the prairie on the north side of the river, in front of my study window, and in plain view." This was the gathering for the great Indian Treaty of 1833, under which the united Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomie Indians were moved to the eastern bank of the Missouri in the region of Council Bluffs, and the United States took their abandoned lands in Illinois and Wisconsin, — about five millions of acres. The same number were accorded to these Indians for their new home. It might as well have been fifty millions; for it was a nominal affair with the chiefs, when they signed the treaty with their "mark," feasted and drunken by the other "high contracting party;" and when Iowa and other Western growths pressed on them like high tides, they were lifted as waifs and thrown farther west.

A few graphic passages from Charles J. Latrobe, an English traveller, and an honored guest at the council, will best show us the neighbors, Indian and white, to the minister's study on that occasion.

The Indians "were encamped on all sides, — on the wide level prairie beyond the scattered village; beneath the shelter of the low woods which

checkered them; on the side of the small river, or to the leeward of the sand-hills near the back of the lake. . . . The little village was in an uproar from morning to night and from night to morning; for during the hours of darkness, when the housed portion of the population of Chicago strove to obtain repose in the crowded plank edifices of the village, the Indians howled, sang, wept, yelled, and whooped in their various encampments. With all this, the whites seemed to me to be more pagan than the red man. . . . Far and wide the grassy prairie teemed with figures, — warriors mounted or on foot, squaws and horses. Here a race between three or four Indian ponies, each carrying a double rider, whooping and yelling like fiends; there a solitary horseman, with a long spear, turbaned like an Arab, scouring along at full speed; groups of hobbled horses; Indian dogs and children; or a grave conclave of gray chiefs seated on the ground in consultation. . . . Emigrants and land speculators as numerous as the sand; you will find horse-dealers and horse-stealers, rogues of every description, white, black, brown, and red; half-breeds, quarter-breeds, and men of no breed at all; men pursuing Indian claims; sharpers of every degree; pedlers, grog-sellers, Indian agents and Indian traders of every description, and contractors to supply the Pottawatomies with food. . . . The quarters [in Fort Dearborn] were too confined to afford place of

residence for the Government commissioners, for whom and a crowd of dependents a temporary set of plank huts were erected on the north side of the river. . . . It is a grievous thing, — the shameful and scandalous sale of whiskey to these poor miserable wretches. But here lie casks of it under the very eye of the commissioners, met together for purposes which demand that sobriety should be maintained. . . . The council fire was lighted under a spacious open shed on the green meadow on the opposite side of the river from that on which the fort stood." The position of the two parties in the council lodge was most significant, though, of course, not intended to be so. "The glorious light of the setting sun streaming in under the low roof of the council-house fell full on the countenances of the former [the whites], while the pale light of the east hardly lighted up the dark and painted lineaments of the poor Indians, whose souls evidently clave to their birthright in that quarter." [1] The position of the two parties in this grand Indian council at Chicago on that September day, 1833, was painfully and sadly historic and prophetic. The Indians looking eastward and backward and despondent, and the white man looking westward and forward and ardent, — that is the history of the two races in this country. On the Indian side the Treaty has the following

[1] The Rambler in North America, 1832, 1833. By Charles Joseph Latrobe. Two volumes. Vol. II., Letter XI.

indorsement: "The undersigned, chiefs and head men of the said nations of Indians, have hereunto set their hands at Chicago the said day and year, Sept. 26, 1833." Then follows the signature of seventy-seven Indian names, and against each "his x mark." It is safe to say that the Chicago Board of Trade never did so much business on one day as was done on this day in the transfer of land.

The post-office is a good index to the state of a community, and the first one of Ancient Chicago was characteristic of frontier America. In that hard winter of 1831–32, memorable in the history of the present magnificent city, a tough half-breed went on foot once a fortnight to Niles, Michigan, ninety miles away, to carry and bring the mail. Though this date is so recent in our national annals, it should be noticed that no steamer had yet touched at Chicago. Only light sails, Mackinaws, birches, and pirogues had then rounded Wolf Point, the angle of land between the North and South Branch. The year following, 1832, the first steamboat arrived at Chicago, bringing the eminent General Scott to take a hand in the Black Hawk war, already well over, and the cholera came with the General. This same year witnessed the appointment of a new postmaster of the prophetic city, like Paris and St. Petersburg rising from the mud. Postmaster Hogan signalized his administration, and no doubt made political capital, by two improvements on the half-breed arrangement.

He secured a weekly mail on horseback from Niles, and inaugurated the private-box system. This consisted of a row of old boots nailed to the rude log walls, bearing the name of such as had a heavy correspondence. The occasional letter was served in a more democratic way, even much later, as a private letter informs me. "My husband, A. D. Reed, of Boston, came out to Illinois in October, 1837, on horseback, in company with Colonel Porter, from Rochester. They were prospecting for the purpose of locating and investing in lands. Stopping at Chicago, they inquired at the post-office for letters, and the letters were turned out of a bushel basket on a table. Among these they searched for any that might belong to them." All this is somewhat in contrast with the Chicago post-office of to-day. An official statement, courteously given me on request, under date of October, 1886, furnishes the following facts: Number of letters, postal cards, and circulars despatched daily and mailed in Chicago, 360,000; printed matter and merchandise, 49,903 pieces; pieces of second-class matter, 125,000. Here is the daily despatch of 534,903 pieces of mail matter originating in the city. The aggregate weight, not including second-class matter, was 25,372 pounds. For carrying off the mails of Chicago there are used, on a daily average, 1,386 canvas sacks, making an annual total of 499,272 sacks, and an annual total of 125,684 lock-pouches.

The amount of money received for money-orders between July 1, 1883, and June 30, 1886, was $4,585,600.40, and the amount paid out for money-orders for the same time was $23,322,629.84. At date of statement the number of lock-boxes — not old boots — was 774, the number of clerks was 518, and the number of carriers was 358.

This weight of mail is marvellously in excess of the fortnightly burden of the half-breed carrier. It would have required many scores of blanketed Pottawatomies and Black Hawk spies to carry up the population to the present number of post-office men. The tramping and hurrying procession through the corridors and halls of the present office, with the clicking of lock-boxes and the calls at the general deliveries, is strongly in contrast with Hogan's log-room and boot-boxes. Mr. Reed would hardly recognize his bushel basket in the present edifice.

Our Eastern friends of the basket post-office had a fancy to feed their two saddle horses with oats while they took refreshments "at a rude kind of building" called a tavern, and prospected the village for possible investments. "They inquired for oats to feed their horses, and were informed that none were to be had in town, which circumstance decided them to ride on, and probably prevented their making a profitable investment in land there." However, Mr. Reed thought better of the oatless town, and afterward returned to

permanent residence there, and must have been satisfied finally in the call for his favorite grain; for in the last year of his residence there (1876) Chicago received 23,490,915 bushels of oats. Here were oats enough to bait ninety-four millions of horses with a peck apiece. That is more than thirteen times the number of all the fed horses in the United States at the last census. When in later years Mr. Reed was president of one of the Chicago banks, he found his mail better served than by the early method of bushel baskets.

It was in 1846 that Sir Robert Peel predicted in Parliament that two towns in interior America would by and by rival Odessa and Dantzic in the grain market of the world, and he mentioned Chicago and Milwaukee. These towns had never before been spoken of in Parliament, and were quite unknown to some geographical experts in that body. To the whispered question what he called them, the answer was the quite indefinite one, "Some Indian places." The remark of Sir Robert takes on almost the sublimity of a prophecy of one of the ancients. Eminent Americans have been quite as uninformed about our Western growth as were the English experts. In 1835 the Rev. Dr. Joel Hawes, of Hartford, had a call to the First Presbyterian Church in Chicago. "When Dr. Hawes received the letter of invitation, he took it to Judge Williams of his church, and said: 'I 've got a letter from some place out West, called

Chick'-a-go, asking me to come there and preach. Can you tell me where it is?' Having learned that it was in a great swamp back of Lake Michigan, he thought it best not to remove." [1]

Only eight years before Sir Robert's prophecy certain shippers of hides in Chicago had, with much daring and timidity, made a venture for a market by exporting forty-four sacks of wheat. In 1880 that "Indian place" exported by land and water 22,796,288 bushels of wheat, and 2,862,737 barrels of wheat flour, making a total aggregate for one year of 35,678,604 bushels of wheat.

It is doubtless without precedent in the annals of the world that a city of seven hundred and fifty thousand has sprung up so suddenly on the camping-ground of a conquered and retreating people. In Old World times smouldering cities have been left in the track of invading armies; but in the New World hamlets, villages, and cities are planted by the invasion. To mark off to-day, among magnificent blocks of merchantmen and mansions of merchant princes, the camping-ground of those Indians, would be to thousands in Chicago even as a story of Sinbad the Sailor, or as an interlined and dubious chronicle of Alfred the Great or of one of the early Henrys. No wonder that Gladstone said of the United States in their growth, "America is passing us by in a canter."

[1] Historical Sermon by the Rev. John H. Barrows, D.D. Fiftieth Anniversary First Presbyterian Church of Chicago.

Mention has been made of the first teacher in Chicago, with his one pupil and one text-book. That was in 1810. A more formal yet private school followed in 1816. Immediately following the Black Hawk war, in 1832, another school was opened in a building twelve feet square, once a stable, with "old store boxes for benches and desks." In the first quarter Mr. Watkins, the proprietor, had twelve pupils; "only four of them were white; the others were quarter, half, and three-quarter Indians." Billy Caldwell, the Pottawatomie chief, offered to pay for tuition, books, and clothing of so many Indian children in the school as would adopt the dress of civilization, but not one accepted his offer. The dress was the obstacle. About this time a Miss Chappel left her school at Mackinaw and opened one in Chicago, with a Miss Mary Barrows as assistant. At last accounts Miss Chappel, as Mrs. Jeremiah Porter, was teaching at Fort Sill in the Indian Territory.

Two years afterward Mr. G. T. Sproat, from Boston, opened an English and Classical school, and a recent letter from one of his assistants gives a good idea of Chicago at that time, — 1834.

"I used to go across without regard to streets. It was not uncommon in going to and from school to see prairie wolves, and we could hear them howl any time in the day. We were frequently annoyed by Indians, but the great difficulty we had to en-

counter was mud. No person now can have a just idea of what Chicago mud used to be. Rubbers were of no account. I purchased a pair of gentlemen's brogans and fastened them tight about the ankle, but would still go over them in mud and water, and was obliged to have a pair of men's boots made."

It will give a tolerable idea of the growth of settlement to-day a thousand miles or two beyond Chicago, in log-houses and mud-towns, among Indians and prairie wolves, if we notice what changes fifty years have wrought around Fort Dearborn and Wolf Point. In 1882 the Kinzie boy with his spelling-book from the tea-chest would have found 110,466 schoolmates, as those of legal school age in Chicago. Of these he would have noticed that 32,038 were attending private schools, as was he in 1810. Master Robbie Forsyth, the teacher, thirteen years old, would have found himself in competition with 1,019 public school-teachers. When Miss Warren drew on gentlemen's boots and went wading back and forth across the lots, the primitive order does not seem to have reached Chicago, — "Let the dry land appear;" but the work of creation has since been completed there, and Chicago has ceased to be amphibian.

In setting forth Ancient Chicago, we made its first human habitation our resting-place and our study; and now, in conclusion, let us go back to its threshold to take farewell.

It is the first house built in Chicago, and by De Saible, a Domingoan, in 1779. Monarch of all he surveys from its low doorway, and solitary for seventeen years, he sells out to Le Mai, who keeps it open to Indians and furs for eight years, when John Kinzie buys him out in 1804, — the first American in the town, though born in Quebec. Kinzie keeps it as a place for Indian barter till the massacre of 1812. Then for four years it stands open and vacant for the winds and the wild animals, till the owner cautiously and sadly returns. All about and in sight from its forsaken doorway are the ghastly remains of the massacre. Here the first white child is born in the city of to-day, and in 1823 becomes, under the same roof, the first bride. Of all the joyous weddings in that now populous city, the first was within those log walls; and the same year its occupant, as probably the first justice of the county, held the first court in Chicago under its roof. Four years later it was vacated by Justice Kinzie, who moved across the river to a little house under the walls of the Fort, where he died in 1828. In 1831 it was occupied by Bailey, as the first postmaster in that prophetic town; probably thus early on its floor the basket of mail matter was emptied, and later its walls were decorated with those boot letter-boxes by his successor and son-in-law, Hogan. It was easy of access, one hundred and fifty yards from the lake, on the north bank of the river and opposite the

Fort, with a canoe or skiff or pirogue ferry between, free to any one who could handle paddle or oar, and half a mile or so down the river from Wolf Point. The bridges and draws, innumerable and intolerable, were yet to come. After 1832, says Andreas, "there is no record of its being inhabited. Its decaying logs were used by the Indians and emigrants for fuel, and the drifting sands of Lake Michigan were piled over its remains. No one knows when it finally disappeared."

CHAPTER VI.

THE "GREAT AMERICAN DESERT."

"LINN was granted 6 miles into the countrey, and Mr. Hauthorne and Lieft. Davenport to view and informe how the land lyeth — whether it may bee fit for another plantation or no." So ran the records of the colony of Massachusetts Bay for the 13th of March, 1638–9. From that day to this, official and private inquiry has travelled westward from the colonial east "to view and informe." As to this ancient case, inviting land was found, and colonial Lynn extended herself finally over what now embraces six townships. The successors of Hawthorne and Davenport have continued explorations westward till settlers have gone quite to the Pacific, generally finding land "fit for another plantation." Of course much of this emigrant movement into dense forests and over mountain ranges and through vast howling wilderness has been undertaken with hesitation, and carried on amid fear and great privations and struggles.

But nothing so crept over the youthful mind in the schoolroom or confronted daring pioneers on

the westward growth of the nation, as the "Great American Desert." It took position in North America much as the Sahara did in Africa, and the two claimed about equal space and importance on our childhood maps. This traditional chimera started very naturally in the ignorance of American geography which prevailed as to the interior of our continent in colonial times. When Jonathan Carver, between the old French war and the Revolution, was looking about the falls of St. Anthony and westward for a ship channel through to the Pacific, and the peace commission of 1783 were in a mistake of one hundred and twenty-five miles in locating the head of the Mississippi, and a Mexican historian was bordering our northwest coast on Tartary, the interior might well be unknown.

We were most unfortunate in some of our first teachers in interior geography far back in colonial times. True, Popple's map, engraved in 1733, shows a grassy, wooded, and watered country beyond the Mississippi and the Missouri. But a French map, "Par ordore de M. le Duc de Choiseul, etc., 1764," says of the lands south and west of St. Louis, "ces contres sont peu connues," and if unknown, then Popple's drawings must have been pure fancy. This country lay south of the Missouri and extended across Kansas to the Red River. The first maps in accordance with the treaty of 1783 locate "great meadows" on both

sides of the Missouri. In his "Universal Geography" of 1793, Jedidiah Morse gives the most advanced knowledge of our interior at that date, and a few facts will indicate the extent and accuracy of it. "From the best accounts that can be obtained from the Indians," he says, "we learn that the four most capital rivers of the continent of North America, namely, the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi, the River Bourbon [Missouri], and the Oregon, or River of the West, have their sources in the same neighborhood."[1] It is now interesting to see, on this old map, the Oregon, or River of the West, starting in what we call Devil's Lake, in northeastern Dakota, and emptying into the Bay of San Francisco. St. Louis "is four or five miles north by west of Cahokia, on the east side of the Mississippi." To-day the city of four hundred thousand is gazetted differently. The anxieties of that day, clustering around that far-off and foreign land, are thus expressed: "It has been supposed that all settlers who go beyond the Mississippi will be forever lost to the United States."[2] Colonel Morgan, of New Jersey, was then founding a settlement to be called New Madrid, under the patronage of the Spanish king, on the west bank of the Mississippi, about fifty miles below the mouth of the Ohio. When negotiations were proposed for the purchase of the Louisiana Territory, only a small tract was thought

[1] Vol. i. p. 158. [2] Vol. i. p. 169.

of, enough to give the free navigation of the Mississippi. In a letter to M. Dupont of Feb. 1, 1803, Jefferson writes: "The country which we wish to purchase is a barren sand, six hundred miles from east to west, and from thirty to forty and fifty miles from north to south."

After our acquisition of the Louisiana in 1803, Lewis and Clark went across it to the Pacific to explore it, and long before their return, nothing having been heard from them, they were presumed to have perished in that unexplored region. This expedition of Lewis and Clark was organized before the purchase of Louisiana and in the interests of the Indian trade. In 1788 John Ledyard, who had been with Cook on the northwest coast, met Mr. Jefferson in Paris, and proposed the organization of a fur company for those coasts. Failing to enlist Jefferson, he started alone for that region by the way of Russia, was arrested, imprisoned, released, and in 1789 died at Cairo, Egypt. In 1792 Jefferson proposed to the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia to send Captain Lewis, with companions, across to the Pacific for scientific and general exploring purposes. The plan failed on the eve of starting by the withdrawal of Michaux, the botanist, by his government, the French. In 1803 Congress attempted to extend the Indian trade into the wild northwest, and so organized the expedition that has become historic as that of Lewis and Clark. The instruc-

tions for it were draughted in April, 1803. On the last day of the same month Louisiana was ceded to the United States; and so the expedition which consumed two years four months and nine days in the round trip from and to St. Louis, resulted in an exploration of our own territory.

Under these shadows of ignorance, and beyond the western horizon, the Great American Desert took its place and name. Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike first gave outline and prominence to this unfortunate myth in American geography and history. He commanded two Government explorations of the country, examining the sources of the Mississippi, Missouri, Platte, and Arkansas, in 1805–1807. In his report to the war office, published soon after, he sketches the vast regions explored as repulsive to all immigrants and impossible for settlements, and then says: —

"From these immense prairies may be derived one great advantage to the United States; namely, the restriction of our population to some certain limits, and thereby a continuation of the union. Our citizens being so prone to rambling and extending themselves on the frontier, will, through necessity, be constrained to limit their extent to the west to the borders of the Missouri and Mississippi, while they leave the prairies, incapable of cultivation, to the wandering and uncivilized Aborigines of the country. It appears to me to be only possible to

introduce a limited population to the banks of the Kansas, Platte, and Arkansas."[1]

From this Government document the delusion was reproduced in manuals of geography, and began to pervade literature at home and abroad. The real biography of Major Pike is yet waiting for the romantic pen of personal and thrilling narrative. A son of the American army, born in the heat of the Revolution, early a lieutenant under his father on the frontier, the first to explore officially those head-waters; captured over the unknown line and taken a prisoner to Santa Fé and old Mexico, after leaving his name on one of our noblest mountain peaks; leading as brigadier-general in the attack on York, now Toronto, in 1813; falling in the assault which proved victorious, and making a sign in his dying moments to have the captured British flag placed under his head, — he ended a most adventurous and heroic life.

In 1810–11 the land party of the Astoria enterprise, under Wilson P. Hunt, and outlined by the graphic pen of Irving, gave most unjust coloring to the horrors of this imagined desert; for the tragic fate of that expedition was attributed, in the popular mind, to the inhospitable qualities of an American Sahara; and to this day unread speakers and writers are damaging the West for

[1] Expeditions, etc., of Lieut. Z. M. Pike, Appendix II.

the mistake and disasters which occurred to that party through ignorance of the country and in the mountains far beyond the desert, so called.

In the year 1819–20, Major Stephen H. Long, of the army, by order of John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, went out to "explore the Missouri and its principal branches, and then in succession Red River, Arkansas, and the Mississippi above the mouth of the Missouri." The expedition took winter quarters near Council Bluffs, and then swept the eastern base and slopes of the Rocky Mountains along and among the heads and tributaries of the Missouri and its lower valleys.

A few extracts from the official report of Major Long will show how the "desert" grew in area and in terror before the American people, and how good material it furnished to Europeans, who wished to disparage the United States and discourage emigration, and prepare the way to capture Oregon. Of the country between the Mississippi and Missouri it is reported that "the scarcity of timber, mill-seats, and springs of water — defects that are almost uniformly prevalent — must for a long time prove serious impediments in the way of settling the country. Large tracts are often to be met with, exhibiting scarcely a trace of vegetation."[1] The Great American Desert manifests itself thus authoritatively in an official document in this "Report of a United States

[1] Long's Expedition, Phila. Ed. 1823, vol. ii. pp. 341, 352.

Exploring Expedition": "From the minute account given in the narrative of the expedition of the particular features of this region, it will be perceived to bear a manifest resemblance to the deserts of Siberia." [1]

Of the mountainous country beyond, Major Long says: "It is a region destined by the barrenness of its soil, the inhospitable character of its climate, and by other physical disadvantages, to be the abode of perpetual desolation." [2]

If some early explorer from the Jamestown or Plymouth colony had said this of large sections to the westward, we could now see how their reports would have stayed the territorial growth of the colonies. Greenhow, in his "History of Oregon," and as late as 1845, sets thus in summary the teachings of "Long's Narrative": "The whole division of North America, drained by the Missouri and the Arkansas and their tributaries, between the meridian of the mouth of the Platte and the Rocky Mountains, is almost entirely unfit for cultivation, and therefore uninhabitable by a people depending upon agriculture for their subsistence. . . . These circumstances, as they became known through the United States, rendered the people and their representatives in the Federal legislature more and more indifferent with regard to the territories on the northwestern side

[1] Long's Expedition, vol. ii. p. 389.
[2] Ibid., p. 401.

of the continent. It became always difficult, and generally impossible, to engage the attention of Congress to any matters connected with those countries." [1]

It was quite in the official line, and inevitable, that Pike's and Long's Government explorations and reports should furnish the staple for our histories and school geographies in their descriptions of that border land. Government documents, then as now, were taken as first authority; while experience has been teaching us to quote them cautiously where personal observation and judgment alone have furnished the data.

In 1824 Woodbridge and Willard published their "Geography for Schools," and they thus spoke to the generation of pupils whom a better information is now correcting. Referring to the great delta between the Mississippi and Missouri, they say: "The soil of this region is probably equal, if not superior, to that of any other tract of upland in the United States; but the scarcity of timber, mill-seats, and springs must for a long time impede its settlement." [2]

They cover a belt south of the Missouri, and extending well toward Red River, with the remark, "The great swamp, two hundred miles in length and from five to thirty in width." It is now as difficult to find this "swamp" as to find

[1] History of Oregon and California, p. 323.

[2] Woodbridge and Willard's Geography, 1824, p. 77.

the "desert" of Pike and Long. Our authors proceed to say: —

"From longitude 96°, or the meridian of Council Bluffs, to the Chippewan mountains is a desert region of four hundred miles in length and breadth, or about sixteen thousand square miles in extent. . . . On approaching within one hundred miles of the Rocky Mountains, their snow-capped summits became visible. Here the hills become more frequent, and elevated rocks more abundant, and the soil more sterile, until we reach the abrupt chain of peaks which divide it from the western declivities of North America. Not a thousandth part can be said to have any timber growth, and the surface is generally naked. . . . The predominant soil of this region is a sterile sand, and large tracts are often to be met with which exhibit scarcely a trace of vegetation. . . . The salts and magnesia mingled with the soil are often so abundant as to destroy vegetation. The waters are, to a great extent, impure, and frequently too brackish for use. . . . The valley of the Canadian River is encrusted to a great extent with salt nearly pure, resembling ice or snow in its appearance. The waters of this river are so impregnated with salt as to be unfit for use, and this is the case with other tributaries of the Arkansas and of the Red River. . . . Agreeably to the best intelligence we

have, the country, both northward and southward of that described, commencing near the sources of the Sabine and Colorado, and extending to the northern boundary of the United States, is throughout of a similar character." [1]

Of the northwest territory the text-book taught that "the northern parts are sterile;" and of the Missouri territory, that is, all north and west of the State of Missouri, in 1824, "there is little probability that it can ever become the residence of an agricultural nation;" and of the Arkansas territory, that is, all southwest of Missouri to the Spanish line, that "the western portions are dry and sterile." [2]

Olney's Geography, in the change of school books, contained the same teachings. Of the northwest territory he but copies his predecessors in saying, "The northern part is hilly and mountainous, with a light, barren soil." [3] The same author estimates the Missouri territory of that day as containing about eight hundred thousand square miles, extending from the Mississippi to the Missouri, and says: "The soil in the western parts and on the banks of the rivers is extremely rich and fertile; the remainder is generally a vast,

[1] Woodbridge and Willard's Geography, pp. 77–79.

[2] Ibid., p. 266, Goodrich's Geography of 1826 speaks of "the Great American Desert."

[3] Olney's Geography, 1831, p. 114.

elevated, and barren waste, destitute of timber and vegetation." [1]

In his edition of 1839, Smith makes the Great American Desert extend from the Red River of Texas and the Indian Territory and Arkansas to the North Platte.

After the Ashburton-Webster treaty of 1842 had been ratified, the Oregon question assumed a livelier interest in Congress, and McDuffie, speaking of the region in dispute, said: "Why, as I understand it, seven hundred miles this side of the Rocky Mountains it is uninhabitable, where rain scarcely ever falls; a barren, sandy soil." Somewhat later another eminent statesman, yet living, spoke of "a wagon road eighteen hundred miles in length, through an arid and mountainous region," to the territory in dispute.

Of course these gloomy accounts of uninhabitable and impassable wastes between the United States and coveted Oregon soon found their way into English periodicals, to aid in making the coming arguments against American possession over the mountains. So the "Edinburgh Review" for 1843 says of the country west of the Missouri and Arkansas: —

"There lies the desert, . . . except in a few spots on the border of the rivers, incapable, probably forever, of fixed settlements. This is the great

[1] Olney's Geography, p. 117.

prairie wilderness, which has a general breadth of six hundred or seven hundred miles, and extends from south to north . . . nearly fourteen hundred miles, . . . so complete in the character of aridity that the great rivers — the Platte, Arkansas, and Rio Grande — after many hundred miles of course through the mountains, dry up altogether on the plains in summer, like the streams of Australia, leaving only standing pools of water between wide sand-bars. . . . Oregon will never be colonized overland from the Eastern States. . . . With these internal obstacles between, we cannot but imagine that the world must assume a new face before the American wagons make plain the road to the Columbia as they have to the Ohio."

Of course that unfortunate passage is quoted by the "Review" from Irving, in which the imagination was vigorous after knowledge failed: —

"An immense tract stretching north and south for hundreds of miles along the foot of the Rocky Mountains and drained by the tributary streams of the Missouri and the Mississippi. This region, which resembles one of the immeasurable steppes of Asia, has not inaptly been termed 'the Great American Desert.' . . . It is a land where no man permanently abides, for in certain seasons of the year there is no food either for the hunter or his steed. The herbage is parched and withered; the brooks and streams are dried up; the

buffalo, the elk, and the deer have wandered to distant parts, keeping within the range of expiring verdure, and leaving behind them a vast uninhabited solitude, seamed by ravines, the former beds of torrents, but now serving only to tantalize and increase the thirst of the traveller. . . . Such is the nature of this immense wilderness of the far West, which apparently defies cultivation, and the habitation of civilized life. . . . It is to be feared that a great part of it will form a lawless interval between the abodes of civilized man, like the wastes of the ocean or the deserts of Arabia."[1]

It is much to be regretted that this misapprehension of a vast region, much of it magnificent in agriculture to-day, should traverse the round world on the great fame of a pen which is hardly surpassed in pure and elegantly fascinating English. He had no personal knowledge of the "desert" over which he has thrown this ghastly spell. His "Tour on the Prairies," published the year before, and the record of his own experiences, showed him no such forlorn region. In early days he had revelled in the trapper, hunter, and trader stories of the headquarters of the Northwest Fur Company at Montreal, at an age, he owns, "when imagination lends its color to everything." The men who gave him positive information were but poor judges at the best of a region

[1] Astoria, chap. xxii. This was published in 1836.

for human homes; and so far as they saw openings inviting to immigration, it was their interest and policy to conceal the facts and keep the country unoccupied as a game preserve, as the Hudson Bay Company covered and misrepresented their game-field, to the great damage of the English Crown. The journals, letters, and business books of the fur trade which Astor put into his hands for this volume, the examining of which was spared him by his nephew, he confesses "were often meagre in their details, furnishing hints to provoke rather than narratives to satisfy inquiry."[1] Irving makes an unconscious confession as to the quality of his material when he speaks of "the stories of these Sinbads of the wilderness" that his ears took in so ardently in those genial head-quarters at Montreal.[2] A passage in his preface to "The Tales of a Traveller" might properly precede all that he says on the Great American Desert:

"I have read somewhat, heard and seen more, and dreamt more than all. My brain is filled, therefore, with all kinds of odds and ends. In

[1] The writer, after a residence and trial of years in St. Louis, then the centre of the American fur trade, and in constant intercourse with Indian traders and trappers and wandering border men, can sympathize with Irving in this failure.

[2] He supplemented his deficiency with the journals of travellers, as Messrs. Lewis and Clark, Long, Bradbury, Breckenridge, Franchere, and Ross Cox. Of one of them, as authority, Major Long, we have already spoken.

travelling, these heterogeneous matters have become shaken up in my mind, as the articles are apt to be in an ill-packed travelling-trunk; so that when I attempt to draw forth a fact, I cannot determine whether I have heard, read, or dreamt it, and I am always at a loss to know how much to believe of my own stories."

The "Westminster Review" has the same sentiment, borrowing from Pike, Long, Irving, and other misled American authors: "From the Valley of the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains, the United States territory consists of an arid tract extending south nearly to Texas, which has been called the Great American Desert."

Edward I. Wallace, an English writer of 1846, says: "The caravan of emigrants who undertake the passage [of the desert and the mountains] take provisions for six months, and many of them die on the way."

Governor Simpson, of the Hudson Bay Company, who published his journey through the northwest in 1847, has this passage: "From the inhabited parts of the United States, it [Oregon] is separated by deserts of rock and sand on either side of the dividing ridge of mountains, — deserts with whose horrors every reader of Washington Irving's 'Astoria' is familiar."

The overland expedition of Wilson P. Hunt was not only a calamity to John Jacob Astor, but

to American geography and the general growth of the United States toward the Pacific.

In his "Quarto Geography," 1849, Olney has a map of the United States west of the Indian Territory, Missouri, Iowa, and Minnesota. There is a curving zone extending back in width to the Rocky Mountains, and from northern Texas to the British line, and lettered "Great American Desert," with this description covering it: "This desert is traversed by numerous herds of buffaloes and wild horses, and inhabited by roving tribes of Indians." The "Modern Atlas" of W. C. Woodbridge, published twenty years before, had the same belt with the same title, only that it there extended south through Texas to the Rio Grande. The "Quarto School Geography" of Roswell C. Smith, 1852, extends Nebraska back through Wyoming to the mountains, and says of the whole of it, "Little better than a desert." While the region north of Nebraska and extending west to the mountains, substantially Dakota, "resembles Nebraska in soil." Our school geographies, down to very late years, have taught the children the same mistakes about an uninhabitable region beyond the Mississippi and the Missouri.

It has already been shown that English interests in Oregon, while its title and occupation were yet open questions, studiously added area and horrors to the "desert" said to intervene between the States and that Territory. Twenty-five years later

the English policy to settle their country between the Lake Superior region and the Pacific led English writers to perpetuate and propagate the dying delusion of a Great American Desert. In the "Westminster Review" for July, 1867, the author makes a damaging attack on the Hudson Bay Company for keeping a tract of country "nearly as large as the whole United States and more than half the size of Europe as a vast preserve for the fur-bearing animals." In order to do this, the writer says that "the company has studiously cultivated the opinion that all Rupert's Land [the Hudson Bay Basin] is a howling wilderness, a desert, where half-starved animals and men wage war for life on each other, and that nothing induces settlement."

Now, after the exclusive rights of that huge monopoly had reverted to the Crown, and the English Government discovered that its eminent interest lay in opening up this magnificent country between Ontario and the Pacific to their own emigrants and trade, the writer proceeds to adopt the policy that he has reprobated in the Hudson Bay Company. Speaking of the country south of the parallel of forty-nine, which divides the two countries, the "Review" says: —

"From the Valley of the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains the United States territory consists of an arid tract extending south nearly to

Texas, which has been called the Great American Desert. This sterile region, covering such an immense area, contains but a few thousand miles of fertile land. . . . North of this is the zone of mixed country named the Fertile Belt, which is drained by the Red, Assiniboine, and Saskatchewan, and constitutes the basin of Lake Winnipeg. It consists of an undulating, park-like country, where prairies covered with luxuriant grasses are mingled with stretches of woodland, and well watered by numerous lakes and streams. . . . Nature, marching from east to west, showered her bounties on the land of the United States until she reached the Mississippi, but there she turned aside and went northward to favor British territory."

It is an interesting discovery in physical geography, that in the six days of creation, or somewhere in the glacial eras, Nature was so predetermined and took so sharp a turn north, after passing the Mississippi, just "to favor British territory" and advertise the Canadian Pacific Railroad. Yet according to present appearances Iowa and Minnesota and Dakota were not totally disinherited in the will and legacies of Nature. Indeed, the author elsewhere, by a kind of human codicil, admits the two former and Kansas to "this beautiful region."

Returning to the English side of the line, the British author continues: "It appears that there

are from sixty thousand to one hundred thousand square miles lying directly between the two colonies and British Columbia, which possess every possible qualification for agricultural purposes."

Concerning which belt the "Review" quotes Lord Selkirk as saying: "If these regions were occupied by an industrious population, they might afford ample means of subsistence to more than thirty millions of British subjects."

No doubt these are fair statements of the qualities, areas, and possibilities of the English possessions in question, and the English Government did not recover itself any too soon from a grasping and uncivilizing monopoly. Referring to the Northern Pacific Railroad, while writing for the Canadian Pacific, the "Westminster" says: "A road has been carried, not through a beautiful country like the Fertile Belt [of the Canadian Pacific], but through the barren wilderness of the American Desert, inhabited by fierce and hostile Indians. . . . As the neighboring State of Minnesota fills up, American emigrants will throng more and more over the boundary into the Fertile Belt. They cannot spread westward within the limits of the United States, for the Great American Desert forbids it."

It does not seem needful to dwell further on the earlier outlines and description of this famous and fabled region, as Government reports, text-books, and periodicals have presented it. The area of it

began to contract on the eastern border when the Americans began, about 1843, to study earnestly the Oregon question, and since that date it has shown a steady diminution on the maps and in books. Official reports of State and Territorial surveys, text-books, and magazines have produced immense shrinkage in "arid tracts," "great swamps," "sterile sand," "steppes of Asia," and "the barren wilderness of the American Desert." Colton, the geographer, in 1867 draws a heavy pen through his former desert. When writing of Kansas he says: "The western portion is not so well adapted to sustain a large population as the more eastern districts." In his edition of 1877 he still further diminishes the traditional barrenness, and confines the *Mauvaises Terres* to a limited area in northwestern Nebraska and southwestern Dakota, around the sources of the North Platte and White Earth rivers. This is quite in contrast with his statement in 1856, when, covering an extent of country from Fort Laramie to Wood River — three hundred miles — he says, "Entirely unfit for cultivation;" and of a wide range south of the Platte and extending into Kansas, he remarks, "Much of this country is unproductive and sterile." The American Desert, while able to confront corps of civil and military engineers and explorers, has not been able to make a stand against the multitudes of farming immigration, and it has slowly retreated, before an army of invading ploughs, toward the

mountains. One section has turned to bay, like an animal of the chase, in southwestern Dakota and northwestern Nebraska, but for what length of time remains to be seen. Some labor has been expended by the writer in obtaining information down to date from old residents of that region, and of scientific experts who have made official surveys of it for the Government, that the reader might see the American Sahara on its latest exhibitions.

A. D., of Franklin County, took residence in Nebraska in 1869, and as a professional man has traversed the State quite extensively. He writes me: "I came to Butler County in the fall of 1869, making my home on the Platte. It was then thought that 'over the bluffs,' that is, outside the Platte valley, the soil was of no account. There were three small school districts along the river. When I left in 1880 there were sixty-three school districts in the county, and scarcely a foot of public land to be had, every section occupied. It was thought in 1869 that there was very little land worth the having west of Butler County. How immigration, with the plough, scattered our theories to the winds, — changed our theories notwithstanding the winds!"

Since that date settlements in Nebraska have moved west from the centre meridian of Butler County fifty miles on the shortest limit and one hundred on the longest limit. This latter move-

ment embraces a belt one third the width of the State. On the two railroads running across the State there are continuous settlements to the Colorado and Wyoming lines. The average progress west along our entire border, from the British to the Mexican boundaries, has been sixteen miles a year for forty years; but into these desert lands, so supposed, the average has been reduced.

Another resident of Nebraska since 1867 says:

"My own impression is that the Bad Lands are about the best part of our State, and that the American Desert is destined to blossom as the rose. There is sand in small quantities distributed over vast areas, and some of our farmers like a little sand and some would have more. . . . Some of our citizens have travelled in western Nebraska, where report said the poor land was, and they pronounce that very portion of country excellent for grazing. . . . There is a clay vegetable mould loam in the sand along the Elkhorn and the Beaver which holds the sand in place, and the ratio is sufficient to make good soil in places where some farmers would declare at sight that that land is worthless."

Prof. J. E. Todd, of the United States Geological Survey, a man of thorough, cautious, and clear views, says of Nebraska: "I believe that the great desideratum is water. The soil is good enough, but the water is, over much of the region, one hundred

feet below the surface or more. I believe, however, that the rainfall is increasing over the whole region, and I presume that eventually the whole may be inhabited quite thickly, but it will be by the help of irrigation. . . . I should consider the 'barrens' of Nebraska good grazing land as a rule."

Another, who had assisted in an official survey of the northwestern portion of the State, estimates the Bad Lands at less than thirty townships.

Of those whose opinions lie in manuscript before the writer, but one more will be quoted, — W. F. K., — who was a resident business man in the State for ten years, and part of that time Indian agent for the Government. As he has travelled over every portion of the State, his opinions are to be received as weighty and correct. Having traversed in one trip much of the Republican valley and the South Platte from its mouth to its source, he remarks: —

"I can truly say that, in my judgment, there is not an acre of ground in southwestern Nebraska, where it is possible to irrigate the soil, but that any of the hardier products can be raised in abundance; and the uplands are as fine a natural pasturage as can be found in the world, and are already covered by thousands of heads of stock that live on its grasses the year round. The same can be said of the bottom lands in the northwest

part of the State. . . . There is a strip of land lying between the North Platte and the Niobrara, of perhaps an average width north and south of fifty miles by one hundred and fifty east and west, comprising sand-hills covered by a scant vegetation, that will support a limited amount of stock. Between the Niobrara and White Rivers is a strip of rocky, broken lands of an average width, north and south, of twenty miles, by a hundred or more east and west, covered by an abundant growth of fair quality of pine timber. And now comes the only actual part of Nebraska that can be called a desert. It is contained in that part of the country lying between the White River and the north boundary of the State, less than thirty miles north and south by perhaps a hundred east and west. So you will see that Colton is away off, wrong, when he says that the Bad Lands, or *Mauvaises Terres*, comprise a tenth of the State."

Of the great central and eastern sections of the State, he adds: "All who have ever lived there know that the natural soil is far superior to the made gardens of New England."

On an official United States map of Nebraska,[1] drawn from Government surveys under the Department of the Platte, there is a curving belt extend-

[1] Map of Nebraska, compiled and drawn under the direction of Capt. W. S. Stanton. Headquarters Department of the Platte, Fort Omaha, Nebraska, June 23, 1881.

ing from the Platte to the Niobrara and northern boundary, characterized by sand-hills, with some alkali marshes. A thin coarse grass covers the summits of the hills, and a rank thick growth the valleys. Since it was so mapped, in 1881, thrifty settlements have entered the southern and northern sections of this belt. Here, as elsewhere, such regions, at first sight to the soldier and amateur explorer so forbidding, have yielded to the farmer. Twenty-five years ago the eastern third of Nebraska, now so thrifty in agriculture, would have been mapped in the same way even as Long and Pike did sixty and seventy years ago.

Passing from northwestern Nebraska into Dakota, one continues in these Bad Lands, so called, and may traverse a region of them, right and left and to the eastward and northerly of the Black Hills, as large as Massachusetts. Primeval volcanic action and the abrasion by the weather for long centuries have left pyramid rocks, as in the Garden of the Gods, and wild ravines and gulches. The buttes, pyramids, or mounds take on all forms, and some the height of one hundred and fifty feet. The soil is fertile, sometimes to excess, and the high mesas, as well as the intervales, are covered with heavy grasses, and by their attraction to grazing animals make the region quite a game-park.

The careless interchange of the terms "Bad Land" and "desert," as if the two were synony-

mous, has done much to mislead, and to give the impression that the Bad Lands are barren. This is far from fact, and the error has arisen from the only partial adoption of the title that the early trapping and trading French *voyageurs* gave to these weird lands. Because of the gulches and little cañons that intersect them, and from the fatty, sticky, "gumbo" quality of the soil, they found it quite difficult to travel there with ponies and pack animals, and therefore named such regions *mauvaises terres pour traverser*. Writers and geographers have taken by abbreviation the first half only of the phrase, and so have applied the word "bad" to the soil, whereas it belongs only to the pony-trail through it.

The library of errors which we have been gleaning is exceedingly interesting reading, as in contrast with the existing facts. The old authors come to view, much as the fossils of extinct races in a cabinet of natural history. To follow to-day, as we have, personally on the trail of Pike and Long and Irving, and find those innumerable herds, and grain-fields by the thousand acres, and magnificent cities, and railways in the "desert," carries one through the amazing into the amusing in official and literary works. It is among vivid and happy memories that we once rode in a prairie wagon sixteen miles through continuous wheat-fields of individual and German farms; and by cars through one wheat-farm of thirty thousand acres, affording

six hundred thousand bushels a year; and thirty minutes, by the held watch, at fair railroad speed, along a field of corn undivided by any fence or opening, — ten miles of corn! These were on Pike's barren frontier, providentially interposed to keep the young republic from spreading there to its ruin, and on portions of Long's regions "bearing a manifest resemblance to the deserts of Siberia." This corn and wheat were west of the meridian of the mouth of the Platte, described by Greenhow, as late as 1845, as "uninhabitable by a people depending upon agriculture." Nor are the three grain-regions, visited and inspected, exceptional and selected. They are incidental to any of the great north and south thoroughfares between the two Red Rivers of the United States, — the Manitoban and the Texan. These grains and herds are in the "arid tract extending south nearly to Texas," according to the "Westminster Review," which tract, the "Edinburgh" said, had "a general breadth of six hundred or seven hundred miles, and extends from south to north nearly fourteen hundred miles." It is the same Great American Desert which to-day is putting cereals and meat within the reach of hungry Europe. And yet, as late as 1873, this same American Desert is made to reappear on the more advanced points of settlement, somewhat broken by arable land, extending from Mexico to the British line. Like the old military narratives, it is set forth by a soldier and

"described from personal observation extending through fourteen years of military service on the plains." The article[1] is a record of extended travel, and embraces much valuable information, with this just and general caution; "There are, of course, in so summary an account, many fine sections of limited extent which could not be noticed in a sketch which undertakes to give only general characteristics."

The General takes and states clearly his position, like an old soldier that he is: —

"That the western limit of our agricultural lands has already been reached (1873) by settlements along the frontier from the Rio Grande to the forty-ninth parallel of latitude. . . . We have reached the border all along from Dakota to Texas, where land for nothing is no cheaper than good land at thirty dollars an acre. . . . From the one hundredth meridian to the Sierra Nevada Mountains, a distance of twelve hundred miles, there is not more than one acre to the hundred that has any appreciable value for agricultural purposes, or that will for the next hundred years sell for any appreciable sum. Moreover, for one hundred miles before reaching that meridian there is comparatively little good land. . . . It is possible that at

[1] The Great Middle Region of the United States, and its Limited Space of Arable Land. By Gen. W. B. Hazen, North American Review, January, 1875.

some remote period the good lands of the country may be so densely populated as to cause many to seek a precarious existence by such meagre farming as is possible in this region. . . . We must soon face a condition of facts utterly new in the economy of the country, when not new but old States must make room for the increase of population."

The north and south line, therefore, according to General Hazen, along which tillable land disappears mostly on the east of it, and land without any appreciable value for agriculture takes possession mostly of the west of it, — a line dividing in a general way between the fertile and the barren, — would start on the British border near Pembina and run near Yankton, Dakota; Ellsworth, Kansas; and by Wichita through Texas. On the west of the Mississippi the General gives the area of this worthless land, of course only by a general estimation, in this way: Of Dakota, excepting a few small fertile strips, he says that not one acre in a hundred is fit for agriculture. One half only of Nebraska and of Kansas he concedes to the farmer; one acre in twenty-five in Colorado; one in seventy in New Mexico; and one in eighty in Arizona. "The whole amount of arable land in Utah is so very small as scarcely to admit of comparison." Yet elsewhere this writer gives "slightly over a hundredth of the area as arable." It is the half of Kansas west of the meridian of Fort Hayes that

the General places in the list of desert lands. Of California this strong remark is made: "About one third of the western half of the State is available, while not more than a twentieth of the eastern part can be used by any of the processes of farming which will be used in America for a hundred years to come."

Montana, he estimates, has about one million of acres of fine land for the farmer out of her ninety-two millions. The fertile and inviting valley of the Yellowstone, as it is generally understood, General Hazen pronounces "a myth." One half of Texas he regards as dry, broken, and barren country, and unfit for agriculture. Nearly or quite one half of the Indian Territory on the west is surrendered as too dry and barren to till. Nevada is classed with Utah in general description, having "only the merest patches of arable land," with the estimate of not more than one acre to the hundred. Idaho follows Montana in the general outlines of quality for a farming population, or about one to a hundred of arable land. In passing from Idaho into Oregon and Washington, our author looks in vain for the "broad, rich valley of the Columbia." This river, he says, chafes through mountain gorges, with here and there a valley, along which, if a trail be possible, "the wheels cut into a loose, arid sand, with here and there a sage-bush so large as to have grown into a shrub with a stalk several

inches in diameter, and extending its branches over several yards of ground. We find these general features of a broken, mountainous country till we cross the Sierra."

This leaves about two thirds of Oregon and Washington to be added to the arid, rocky, and desolate regions which General Hazen has been collecting and sketching in his article in the "North American."

After this manner, in per cents and descriptions, General Hazen passes in review fifteen States and Territories. They aggregate about 1,760,000 square miles, of which he estimates about 350,000 square miles as arable, — only about one fifth of the whole. In the lands called arable he includes only those that are irrigable ; and so, after deducting all that can in any ordinary circumstances be put under the plough, he leaves in the region outlined about 1,410,000 square miles of territory that no processes of farming now known can utilize. The amount of desert or "bad" land is equal to about one hundred and seventy-five States as large as Massachusetts. The non-arable area of General Hazen is equal to the German Empire, France, Great Britain and Ireland, Italy, Spain, Sweden, Norway, Belgium, Portugal, Switzerland, Greece, and thirty-two Palestines.

This article in the "North American" recalls at once the narratives of the expeditions of Pike and Long and other explorers, who during this

entire century have been furnishing our geographers and our untravelled authors with materials for the Great American Desert. The historical germ of this Sahara appears in Jefferson's letter to Dupont, already quoted, in which he calls the tract desired "a barren land."

As a rule agriculturists are not good military engineers, and would do but poorly in locating military roads and forts. Is it not possible that military men would be equally unfortunate in discovering agricultural lands and in locating farms? At least, it remains to be explained why officers of the army, in their reconnoissances, reported the original and wild lands now making Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Kansas, and Arkansas as naturally unfit for human habitation. A possible explanation may lurk in this grave confession of General Hazen: —

"The Government has, year after year, at great expense, sent parties of *scientific* men to traverse these countries; to gather up, describe, and publish all that could be found out relative to beasts, birds, insects, and fishes, and every conceivable creeping, crawling, or flying creature; also correct reports of its geology. But I have never known any one charged to learn and report that most important of all items, 'whether it is good for agriculture.'"

In calling public attention to this vast amount, as he estimates it, of desert land and bad land,

uninhabitable for various reasons, General Hazen dwells prominently on the great northern belt from the Mississippi Valley to the Pacific. It is due to him to say that in his judgment "military or State considerations seem sufficient to warrant the construction of one road [railroad] which, for many reasons should have been built along the thirty-second parallel, as it probably would have been had the South been represented in Congress." In his hostility to the Northern Pacific the author permits himself to speak of its advertisements as containing "more or less positive falsehoods; issuing a series of misrepresentations of the climate;" and that eight years before, when in the valley of the Yellowstone, he "saw the iniquity of the whole scheme." Jefferson Davis when Secretary of War (1853–57) had a similar hostility to a Northern railway and an approbation for a Southern one from the Mississippi to the Pacific. Under his direction Lieutenant Stevens made a survey of the northern country, and the official report of it was so favorable and tempting to immigration, from its rich natural resources, and so inviting to a trans-continental railroad, that the Secretary mutilated it before publication lest it should damage his Southern policy and his schemes for a railroad on the thirty-second parallel. Afterward, when Mr. Davis was otherwise very busy in the Civil War, the suppressed portions of the report were published.

Be the explanation what it may, as to this presentation of so much so-called worthless land in our Northwest, the fact confronts us that farmers, with wagons and ploughs and families, have carried their surveys into these fabulous barrens and deserts, and have converted them into the most magnificent farming lands in the world. At last the Government appears to have conquered fable and legend, for it has followed up this myth of a "desert" as a retreating mirage and finally located what little of substance it has. On the Government map of 1882, based on the public surveys and issued from the General Land Office, this much-magnified and long-sought waste is placed on the southwest of Salt Lake and somewhat bordering it. The barren tract is much less than twice the area of our smallest State, Rhode Island, — 1,085 square miles, — and bears the name so long a terror in our own country and in Europe, — Great American Desert! Under the immigrant invasion and pressure of farmers, mechanics, manufacturers, and merchants, with schools and churches and colleges and legislatures and courts and elections, this spectre has retreated thirteen hundred miles from the west bank of the Mississippi. It remains to be seen whether the retreat will be continued, even in the face of official reports to the contrary, as it has thus far been made to retreat.

In the late elaborate and valuable report of

Major J. W. Powell,[1] he says as to agriculture: "Experience teaches that it is not wise to depend upon rainfall where the amount is less than twenty inches annually," and this should be distributed with some evenness through the year. The border-line of this twenty-inch rainfall "begins on the southern boundary of the United States, about sixty miles west of Brownsville, on the Rio Grande del Norte, and intersects the northern boundary about fifty miles east of Pembina."

The westward growth of the nation since 1803, and especially since the locomotive arrived first on the Mississippi and at Rock Island in 1854, makes us quite sceptical whether agriculture will respect Powell's line and pause on it. Hitherto it has not much regarded scientific and military limitations. Major Powell well says that "far too much attention has heretofore been paid to the chemical constitution of soils, . . . and that a stranger entering the arid region is apt to conclude that the soils are sterile, because of their chemical composition; but experience demonstrates the fact that all soils are suitable for agricultural purposes when properly supplied with water."[2] As yet the supply of water for irrigating is but poorly utilized, and how much it can do but poorly known. A cubic foot of running water per second will make a hundred acres fruitful, and the water-shed on either

[1] Arid Lands of the United States. 1879.

[2] Ibid, p. 10.

slope of the Rocky Mountains and Sierras is provided with many and magnificent streams. It is to be hoped that the Government will move in good time to prevent huge water monopolies in our deep interior, since it has been somewhat too late in preventing land monopolies. A national water office as well constituted and managed as the land office might do much in handling and distributing equitably to private owners those magnificent streams that flow east and south and west from the Rocky Mountains and the Sierras, and thus finally make those arid and desert lands to rejoice and blossom as the rose.

Moreover, the increase of the water supply when a country is opened by settlement has an important bearing on this subject. That this increase does take place should be conceded. In his report Major Powell embraces Gibert's report on the water supply of the interior. Gibert says that the settlers "frequently told me that whenever and wherever a settlement was established there followed in a few years an increase of water supply." Prof. Cyrus Thomas made a careful study of the increase of the water supply at the western edge of the plains in 1869, and Dr. Hayden thus reports him in his "Report for 1867–69," pp. 237: "Since the Territory [Colorado] has begun to be settled, towns and cities built up, farms cultivated, mines opened, and roads made and travelled, there has been a gradual increase of moisture."

Concerning the Catholic Missions in New Mexico and California Major Powell says: "In this history of the settlement of the several districts an important fact has been uniformly observed, — in the first years of the settlement the streams have steadily increased in volume. . . . The increase is abundantly proved; it is a matter of universal experience. The observations of the writer thereon have been widely extended." [1]

The Utah basin furnishes a bold illustration of this increase of water, be the cause what it may. Between 1850 and 1860 Great Salt Lake made a steady and apparently permanent gain of between seven and eight feet. It increased its area by overflow of its ancient shores from 1750 square miles to 2166, — a gain of about seventeen per cent. Perhaps as careful a study of other arid yet occupied lands would show an encouraging increase of water supply. Whether the increase is due to settlement or to some occult natural causes is a mooted question, but it is not philosophical to deny the facts because we cannot explain them. The practical thing is to see the twenty-inch water line and the front of an agricultural immigration move off westward *pari passu*, even as they have been doing to some extent for half a century. The grasses and the trees thrive beyond it, and why not the cereals and the vege-

[1] Report, pp. 90, 91.

tables, when man by the sweat of his face becomes auxiliary to Nature?

As to this rise of Salt Lake and the general increase of moisture in the arid districts, a gentleman of intelligence, and resident in the great West beyond South Pass since 1852, and much of this time engaged in stock-ranching, gave the author this information, — other stock-men with whom he spent a month in the autumn of 1885 confirming it: "Before the country was stocked the land was porous or open, and absorbed the water that fell; now, stocking has tramped and hardened it, and more of the water is retained on the surface or finds its way to Salt Lake. There are lakes and pools now where there were none formerly, because of the tramping and hardening of the ground by stock."

It is gratifying to be able to confirm these views, as to the increase of moisture in the arid districts of the West, by very recent information, carefully obtained by scientific and official observations: "Proofs of a growing rainfall in the far West are thickening. A valuable testimony in this direction just now comes from General Morrow, United States Army, in command at Fort Sidney. In an address delivered last month at the first annual fair in Cheyenne County, on the western frontier of Nebraska, he gave a leaf from his own experience. Twenty years before, he had led soldiers through that identical region when there was

no settlement for five hundred miles east of Julesburg. Then he had observed that men slept in the open air from May to November without having their blankets dampened; but in August, 1887, he saw on the same ground dews as heavy as ever at the same season in Michigan or Arkansas. During the first three fourths of the present year he reports the rainfall at his post to have been fourteen inches, while the annual fall in fertile Malta does not exceed fourteen, and that about Spanish Madrid is only nine. The annual amount of rain registered at Camp Douglas in its first year, 1861, was eleven inches; but in 1874, the last of five years during which General Morrow held command at that post, the rainfall had more than doubled, the rain-gauge showing twenty-seven inches. The speaker emphasized these facts, because in portions of the Cheyenne region the last two seasons have been exceptionally dry. He also showed that within the last three months eighty-three thousand acres of Government land had been taken up in that county, largely by homesteaders. The fair exhibits, also, already showed every variety of farm produce. These facts are the more noteworthy because Cheyenne County stretches four degrees west of the famous meridian of 100°, which in Government publications figures as a line that agriculture cannot cross. They are still more striking if we note how they refute the doctrine laid down by the 'North Amer-

ican Review' in 1858. At that date, when there was scarcely one Nebraska hamlet forty miles west of the Missouri, the 'North American' described our people as having 'already reached their western inland frontier,' and the westward stream of emigration as there 'dammed up so that it must fork northward or southward.' The Missouri bluffs, accordingly, were described as 'ashore at the termination of a vast ocean desert nearly one thousand miles in breadth, which it was proposed to traverse, if at all, with caravans of camels, and which interposed a final barrier to the establishment of large communities, — agricultural, mercantile, or even pastoral.' Yet before the close of 1880 Nebraska numbered half a million inhabitants."[1]

It remains only to state, in a few brief sentences and in certain statistics not remarkably dry to an American, and especially one of the Western type, what has been done in the way of settling and civilizing this "desert." It was the opinion of Lieutenant Pike that immigrants would be compelled from very barrenness to limit their wanderings "to the borders of the Missouri and Mississippi, while they leave the prairies, incapable of cultivation, to the wandering and uncivilized aborigines of the country." This Government explorer abandons to natural isolation and to the

[1] The Nation, Nov. 3, 1887.

American Bedouins our territory between the British line and southern Arkansas, and west from the Mississippi to the mountains. This quadrant now embraces Minnesota, Dakota, Iowa, Nebraska, Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas to the Indian Territory, — an area in total equal to nine New Englands. As the latter — a region as large as eight States like Massachusetts and organized solely for Indian occupation in 1844 — has not been open and exposed to white development, it cannot be embraced in the summary of facts to follow. It may be said, however, in this connection that its equal development is merely a question of time, for in some explorations of it in 1880 we marked it as in no way inferior to Missouri for human homes, and therefore may be occupied as densely as the other seven divisions. In a half-dozen or so of particulars it can now be shown how immigrants, with their agricultural, mechanical, and manufacturing instruments, have surveyed and rescued this region from military explorers and dismal congressional reports. Aggregating the population of the six States and one Territory named, when the respective census of each was first taken, it appears that they all then had 472,040 inhabitants. The total population of the seven in 1880 was 8,746,044. This is something more than one sixth of the population of the country, and more than double the population of New England, and a fair show for Pike's prairie regions "incapable

of cultivation," and Long's "abode of perpetual desolation."

The grain products of the quadrant in question, as reported in 1880 (for 1879), were 642,416,200 bushels. This is more than forty times the total amount of the same six grains in all New England for the same year. These grains are barley, buckwheat, corn, oats, rye, and wheat. Nor is it in cereals alone that this desert land, so called, has shown its products. The cash value of its manufactures is reported by the last census to have been $365,098,571 in the year 1879; and, what is much more significant, during the same year this region had in the public schools 1,567,164 pupils, — young "American Bedouins."

Minnesota is the northeast corner of the traditional desert, and we think of it now mainly as a wheat-field ten times the area of Massachusetts. Yet note the timber item in its natural wealth. A belt of 3,200,000 acres of white and black oak, maple, hickory, basswood, cottonwood, elm, tamarack, and other hard woods up to the number of thirty varieties, stretches across the middle of the State. In the northeast of it is an immense pine forest of 13,440,000 acres, — more than twice the number of acres in Massachusetts.

By Act of Congress of March 3, 1877, certain lands were declared to be and named desert land, lying mostly to the westward of the mythical desert which we have been following. The Act

thus defines them: "All lands, exclusive of timber and mineral lands, which will not without irrigation produce some agricultural crop, are deemed and held to be desert land, under this Act." These lands are in demand. From March 3, 1877, the date of the Act, to June 30, 1883, 5,103 entries of such land were made, and the land-office treasury received for the same $401,036.62. This is the amount of the first payment of twenty-five cents an acre. When the final payment is made of one dollar an acre at the end of three years, the receipts will be $2,008,346.84. Thousands of farms and homes have been introduced into such desert lands, and a network of railway is being thrown over the whole.

For fifty years an army of agricultural invaders, crossing the Mississippi, have been crowding the Great American Desert toward the Pacific; and they have made annually the daily march of the Roman army in its conquering progress. Lately our scientific explorers have discovered that this ghostly desert has been displaced by the best grain lands and timber lands and grazing lands and mineral lands of the world, it never having been more than a ghostly delusion.

Tradition ascribes a remarkable act to Franklin. In one of those courtly halls and gatherings in Europe, where nobility and statesmanship and diplomacy were toying with the young Republic, there hung a map of the United States, with that

disheartening inscription curving from the Texan to the British border, — "The Great American Desert." Franklin took a pen and drew a broad erasing line through the title. Was it not a prophetic pen that Benjamin Franklin then used?

CHAPTER VII.

LARGE LANDHOLDINGS IN THE UNITED STATES.

IT was at his own expense that De Soto, under the patronage of the Emperor Charles V., undertook the conquest of Florida. The Florida of that day was all of the present United States south of New York and of its southern parallel of latitude, and extended into the unknown West. De Soto was, by royal commission, to be the civil and military head of both Cuba and this Florida, and he was to have a princely estate somewhere in this country, fifteen leagues by thirty in extent. It was in 1538 that the gallant invader set sail with a band, Spanish and Portuguese, of nine hundred and fifty men, young and vigorous, and with scarcely a gray hair, bearing away a freight of ambitions to the New World. Four years and two months later, at midnight, De Soto came stealthily into the possession of a grave in the Mississippi, twenty miles below the mouth of the Arkansas.

This magnificent gift of twenty-five million of acres within the present territory of the United States was an august opening to a most remarkable series of land-grants in North America. We

stand amazed at the amplitude of the imperial gift and at the area of the personal and private domain of the great immigrant if he shall ever come in possession. Yet for about three hundred and fifty years this series of immense gifts and acquisitions has been running. The grants of land by the Spanish, French, and English crowns to individuals and to companies in those old eras of discoveries and of colonies were on so grand a scale that one might almost think of those monarchs as silent partners when the dry land was made to appear during the creative days. And the amazement stirred by the size of those possessions of two and three centuries ago would be repeated to-day, in view of the immense personal and corporate land estates now acquired and held in our country, if they were not abundant enough to be common and of constant multiplication.

It would be foreign to the purpose of this chapter to give even a partial list of these grants made prior to the establishment of our Government. Yet a few may be named, indexes to the whole, to accomplish our object, — to impress on the reader the immensity of the national domain, and the equal immensity of our patriotic and Christian obligation to develop it as a young nation with proper qualities.

Of the earliest grants in colonial times a few may be named. In 1622 the Great Council for New England granted to Gorges and Mason all the

land between the Merrimac and the Kennebec, and for sixty miles inland from the mouths of these rivers. Some two years before, Gorges had the project to gain a tract forty miles square on the Kennebec and Androscoggin. The old Saxon greed for land and the passion for speculating in wild lands showed early development in this country. Robert Gorges, the son of Sir Ferdinando, gained a tract extending from Boston ten miles toward Salem; and to the grandson of Sir Ferdinando there was granted a tract of twenty-four thousand acres on both sides of York River, Maine, on the condition that he should found a city within the same. In 1629 the land between the middle of the Merrimac and the middle of the Piscataqua, and for sixty miles inland, with all islands within five leagues of the shore, was given by this Great Council for New England to Capt. John Mason. The famous Waldo patent, originally the Muscogus, being about thirty miles square, may also be mentioned. Within this grant Portland now stands. In 1629 the Council granted to Bradford all the territory between Cohasset River and the Narragansett, and inland as far as the utmost limits of Pokenacutt.

Nor was the passion for wild land in large bodies in those earlier days free from "irregularities" even in New England. For in 1676 Robert Mason petitioned the king to be put in possession of lands granted to his grandfather, and he represented that

the Massachusetts Company "did surreptitiously and unknown to the said Council get the Seal of the said Company affixed to a grant of certain lands," and so obtained confirmation of the same to themselves under the Great Seal of England. The Massachusetts Company, however, entered a denial, and some late antiquarian students assure the writer that the Company is not open to such an accusation.[1]

An index to the policy of the Massachusetts Colony may be taken from its records December 10, 1641: "Mrs. Margt Winthrope hath her 3,000 acres of land formerly granted to her, to be assigned about the lower end of Concord Ryver, near Merrimack."[2]

It was in 1669 that John Alexander paid six thousand pounds of tobacco for nine miles of river front nearly opposite to the present District of Columbia; and soon after the great-grandfather of Washington bought seven thousand acres in and around Mount Vernon, — thus early aiding the foundation of the large Washington estate of later days.

The acquisition of portions of Mexico, or New Spain, by the United States in the treaties of 1848 and 1853 makes it proper to notice some of the

[1] History of Grants, under the Great Council for New England. By Samuel P. Haven. Lowell Institute Lectures, 1869. Published by Massachusetts Historical Society, 1869, pp. 128–162.

[2] See Mass. Records, June 14, 1642.

large landholdings that then came into our domain. By those treaties the United States guaranteed the private ownership of grants from the previous Spanish and Mexican Governments that could be legally established to the satisfaction and confirmation of Congress.

These grants in New Spain were personal and private, and were made by the Spanish kings and Mexican governors to their favorites, and also for purposes of colonization, in dates running back from 1846 to the earliest supremacy of Spain in the country. To the Eastern American whose life and travels have been confined mainly to his "pent-up Utica," the first knowledge of the extent of these grants is simply overwhelming, and he begins at once to reconstruct his ideas of spaces in the United States. Nor will this reconstruction come any too soon to those who intend to bear a manly hand in shaping the empire of the future. For the interest of such, we devote a page to the number and extent, not exhaustive, of landholdings or grants which had their origin in foreign governments, and which the United States guaranteed when the lands in which the grants lay came into our possession. They came within the dominion of the United States by the purchase of Louisiana and of Florida, and by the acquisition of New Mexico and California.

In California "the United States has confirmed five hundred and thirty-eight claims, having a

total acreage of 8,332,431 acres, — the smallest being one acre and seventy-seven one hundredths, and the largest 133,440 acres."[1] These confirmed claims equal one and three fifths States as large as Massachusetts. The claims in Florida amount to about 1,300,000 acres, only a few of which have been patented. In Louisiana about ten thousand claims have been confirmed, but not one in ten has yet been patented. While the commissioners may "confirm" the claim, the "patent" or absolute title must come from Congress, and it by no means grants a patent to all lands when the commissioners have "confirmed" the claims. To June 30, 1883, twelve claims had been reported to Congress from Arizona, aggregating 188,179 acres. At the same date twenty-five claims, equalling 1,913,301 acres, had been confirmed in New Mexico and Colorado.

These claims continue to come in, as Congress did not limit the time of their presentation, and the officials say that "no one can estimate the number of private land-claims yet to be filed," — it may be one thousand or it may be five thousand. They urge upon Government the necessity of limiting the time in which claims may be presented, to head off the modern manufacture of ancient titles. The forgeries have been very many, and these, with other irregularities, have opened those

[1] The Public Domain. By Thomas Donaldson. Washington, Government Printing Office. 1884. p. 381.

old Spanish regions to the marauding of land-thieves on the most extravagant scale. The Commissioner of the General Land Office, in his Report for 1883, furnishes an illustrative case: "An instance has been called to my attention where the original claim was for a quantity of land shown upon a plat presented to the Surveyor-General as containing one square league, or less than five thousand acres, and described as having fixed natural boundaries, which claimants stated were well known and easily identified. And yet, upon the assignment of this claim to other parties, a preliminary survey was obtained, purporting to show identically the same boundaries, but embracing an area exceeding three hundred thousand acres."[1]

There has been much lively work over doubtful papers and witnesses, before the congressional committees on claims under the treaties, to establish rights to these grants. In 1880 the Secretary of the Interior reported: "After a lapse of nearly thirty years, more than one thousand claims have been filed with the Surveyors-General, of which less than one hundred and fifty have been reported to Congress; and of the number so reported Congress has finally acted upon only seventy-one."

This appears to show the condition of things in New Mexico. Very likely many more claimants are waiting till "available" men may be offered to pass on them. Meanwhile the unconfirmed grants

[1] The Public Domain, p. 1156.

are in the market by the tens of thousands of acres at three cents and upward per acre.

The pressures and dangers attending these duties are not so great as at first. Prior to 1860 the Commission labored under the mistake that the confirmation of an offered title would carry with it all mineral in the land. It was then discovered that the Spanish and Mexican authorities made special reservation to the Government of all the precious metals, and that therefore all title to them vested in the United States after the treaties, and not in the grantees and their heirs. This mistake of the Commission is not so surprising when we consider how distant and difficult of access New Mexico was. David Douglass, scientific explorer in the northwest of America, 1824–34, says in his narrative: "The caravan, which leaves St. Louis, on the Missouri, about the end of May next, will reach Santa Fé in about sixty-five days." This time was reduced slowly; for the first locomotive reached the Mississippi at Rock Island in 1854, and St. Louis in 1857, and St. Joseph (on the Missouri) in 1859, and Santa Fé in 1880. In those days American recreating travel was mostly abroad, and "the bounds to a new empire," as Washington prophetically spoke of our interior in 1783, were not much passed and studied till the railroads made it comparatively easy. It is now but a decade of years, as the writer knows, when he was regarded as singular and daring who ran a few

thousand miles up and down a log-cabined and mining and Indian interior, and he had much of the new and strange to tell on his return. Now, with frequent and large and charming "excursions," there is more hope for the "new empire."

It may not be considered as wandering from our historical line of large landholdings, to mention here the twenty-one Franciscan Missions on the coast of California. The first was planted in 1769 and the last in 1823. They were established on grants from the Spanish Crown, and embraced the entire coast from San Diego to San Francisco, about five hundred miles, and extended inward forty miles, and their average area was about six hundred thousand acres. While planted ostensibly for Christianizing the Indians, these Missions made almost slaves of them while they seemed to be evangelizing them; and the San Francisco Mission in 1825 owned seventy-six thousand head of cattle, seventy-nine thousand sheep, and three thousand horses, while their red and white wines were of high repute. Of these, the Mission of San Gabriel produced annually from four to six hundred barrels. These ranch Missions had at one time 18,683 Indians under their control, and used them as servants and workmen. In 1821 Mexico assumed independence of Spain, and as the Mission policy for California failed to either civilize or Christianize the natives, the Missions began to be broken up by Government in 1826.

This reference to large land-grants in California should not omit a vast one projected and well-nigh secured. During the two or three lively years before that Pacific territory became a part of the United States, the English were ambitious and scheming for it. The English consul, Forbes, contracted with one Macnamara, an Irish priest, to colonize California, overthrow the Mexican Government, and then put it under an English protectorate. For this work the priest was to receive three thousand square leagues in the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys, — more than thirteen millions of acres. Governor Pico and General Castro, the civil and military heads of the province, were in the plot, and the papers were drawn, but not executed. This was in 1846. The papers fell into the hands of Frémont in the spring of that year, and the splendid lands into the hands of the United States soon afterward.

The allusion to one other Spanish grant should not be omitted, for it sustains interesting relations to the United States. In 1786 Julien Dubuque, an energetic Canadian, explored the lead-mine regions of the Upper Mississippi. Two years afterward he returned and purchased of the Indians, in council, about one hundred and forty thousand acres, on which Dubuque now stands, and in 1796 the Baron de Carondelet, Spanish Governor of the Upper Louisiana, conveyed the same substantially to Dubuque, and the king confirmed the grant.

It embraced nominally three leagues on the river and six into the interior; and it was the gift of a Spanish king to a French subject.

By partnership in purchase the property came to be known as the Dubuque-Chouteau claim, and the fee simple was declared, only twenty years ago, to vest in the United States, since the king originally, and the baron following him, had granted only a right to hunt and work minerals on the claim, so called.

In the ambitious and good policy of France to acquire and hold the Lower Mississippi Valley, immigration was encouraged to it by fascinating grants of land. Industrious, enterprising, and influential men received offers of large tracts of land in the bottoms of the Mississippi and its tributaries. The largest of these were on the main river and within three hundred miles of New Orleans, and others were on the Red and the Wichita, the Yazoo and the Arkansas. In his "History of the Mississippi Valley" Monette specifies fifteen of these grants with the conditions annexed.[1] Leading among the grantees was the Scotchman John Law, author and finisher of the Mississippi Bubble, — a paper-money inflation, 1718–23. His grant was twelve miles square on the Arkansas. Law stipulated to colonize the Arkansas with fifteen hundred emigrants from Provence, in France, and to keep up a sufficient military

[1] Vol. i. p. 220 *et seq.*

force for their protection against Indian hostility." During the six speculative years of Law he introduced into Louisiana 4,044 settlers, 1,441 African slaves, — the first introduction of slaves to the lower Mississippi, — one hundred and fifty galley slaves, and several hundred females of ill repute. The bubble burst in 1723, and the first slave insurrection in this country occurred six years afterward.[1]

The curious, who may wish to know the details in this early American land fever, will find many illustrative cases in Martin's "Louisiana."[2]

In these schemes to gain and hold the Great Valley the French Government imitated the Spanish in the grants already named. The English Crown followed the French in the policy of bestowing on royal favorites immense tracts of wild land in the New World. In 1748 the Crown granted to the Ohio Company six hundred thousand acres, with the coming Pittsburg for a central post, as a semi-military advance force to crowd the French to a farther West. This was accomplished in 1758, when the French retreated and built Fort Massac, on the Ohio, forty miles above its mouth, — the last stronghold built by France east of the Mississippi. The same year the English rebuilt Fort Duquesne, burned by the French, and called it Fort Pitt.

[1] Monette, vol. i. p. 220 *et seq.*

[2] Vol. i. p. 202 *et circ.*

Afterward, yet prior to 1757, and with the approbation of the Crown, the provincial government issued script and military warrants to the amount of three million acres, on and about the headwaters of the Ohio. The grant to the Ohio Company was only one of many, some being earlier and some later.

The liberal disposition of the public lands was manifested in the colonial legislature of Virginia in 1770 and following, as already mentioned. In 1787 the Ohio Land Company, a new company, obtained from Congress grants of wild land aggregating nearly five million acres. In this the company acted also as agent for other organizations, and finally retained as its own 964,285 acres. In the following year John Cleaves Symmes, of New Jersey, purchased of the Government six hundred thousand acres, as before mentioned.

Near the close of the last century William Bingham, banker, of Philadelphia, became by two purchases one of the heaviest landholders in the United States. At the close of the Revolution, when the finances of the country were in a desperate condition, and the hardy soldiers had been paid off in paper, of which sometimes one silver dollar would buy two hundred, Governor Hancock, of Massachusetts, suggested that State lands in the Province of Maine be sold to pay the State war debts. The legislature instituted a lottery by which to dispose of fifty townships beyond the

Penobscot, at fifty cents an acre. The scheme was not popular. The total of land offered was 1,270,676 acres, of which only 165,280 acres were drawn. This was in October, 1787. Mr. Bingham took the balance, and afterward bought in the most of what was drawn. Some little time afterward General Knox, one of the staff of General Washington, contracted for about a million acres — forty-three townships — on the upper waters of the Kennebec, and in 1793, by the consent of Massachusetts, he transferred this contract to Mr. Bingham. About two and a half million acres of Maine lands thus came into the hands of Mr. Bingham, for which he paid cash down, $311,250. The average cost per acre for these ninety-three townships was twelve and a half cents. To develop the Province and guard against speculation, the State provided that no title should be conveyed for any township, even though paid for, till it was occupied by forty settlers. This general policy governed Bingham and all other purchasers. The sales by Mr. Bingham, who died in 1806, and by his agent, Col. John Black, were slow. For the first thirty-five years there was not enough of the Kennebec lands sold to pay the taxes. Of the lottery tract, enough land and timber were sold during that time to meet taxes and expenses. At the end of forty-two years from the purchase enough had been sold to cover the purchase-money, interest, taxes, and expenses. In 1828 a

few townships were sold at auction at seventy-five and seventy-six cents an acre. Then the "Eastern land fever" was created, and timber-lands were sold and resold till they reached the wild price of eight and even ten dollars an acre, and the Mississippi Bubble was repeated in the Kennebec and Penobscot bubbles.

A fact foreign to our main thought will interest the curious. Two of Mr. Bingham's five daughters married two of the Baring brothers, English bankers. One of these gentlemen was William, afterward Lord Ashburton, who has gained an eminence in American history, in the Webster-Ashburton Treaty, by which our international boundary was settled from the St. Croix to the Rocky Mountains. When, therefore, William Baring, in 1842, was determining the eastern section of that boundary, he was well-nigh at home, if not actually on lands his own by marriage.[1]

In our earlier days there were bold movements and manœuvres and seizures, under cover of law, to take large portions of the public wild domain, even as sometimes to-day. Georgia claimed south on latitude 31°, west to the Mississippi, which was, indeed, the treaty line between the United States and the Spanish possessions. But between the western boundary of the State of Georgia and the

[1] Collections Maine Historical Society, 1876, vol. vii. pp. 353–360; Williamson's History of Maine, vol. ii. p. 531; Varney's Gazetteer; Greenleaf's Geography of Maine.

Mississippi was a large territory extending north to the mouth of the Yazoo and occupied by about ten thousand Spanish subjects. In disregard of treaty Spain claimed this, as did also Georgia in disregard of her western State limit. The Spanish authorities refused to yield the territory in question, and even forbade immigration into it from the States. The question lingered with multiplying perplexities from 1785 till 1795, when the Georgia legislature incorporated the Mississippi Company to take and hold these lands, now for ten years organized into Bourbon County. The charter gave the company more than three million acres of wild land, while about four million more were involved in the intrigue. The year following, the legislature declared the charter forfeit, as obtained by corruption, and Congress set it aside as covering United States lands, over which the State had no control. The extent of the grasp and the fraud were not inferior to the endeavors of some rings of to-day.

The same year in which this Georgia scheme was matured, a sharp one was put in operation in Virginia. Pittsburg was now about one year old by incorporation, with its one thousand inhabitants, when General Wayne's great victory on the Maumee over the Indians, with their English allies, opened up the frontier beyond the Alleghany to safe settlements. Of course it was in the interest of the Government to have hardy pioneers

take possession, and Virginia offered strong temptations to both capitalists and poor men. To a strong association of the former, entitled the "Population Company," she granted large tracts of wild land, on the condition that within a given time the company should locate, on any section of four hundred acres within the grant, an immigrant who should make and hold improvements to a certain extent. Then the company offered to warrantee one hundred and fifty acres to any settler who would meet these conditions, and, for successful labor in this line, it would gain two hundred and fifty acres in each case. When the "Western fever" was running so high that it would require more effort to hold men back than to point them to the front, this shrewd speculation, incorporated and empowered by a well-lobbied legislature, was becoming a great success. Soon after the people saw through the policy of the company, who were speculating on the gift-lands of the Government, when the legislature offered the four hundred acres direct to any settler who would meet the previous conditions. Then this Population Company of land speculators complained that its "vested rights" were infringed. But the people had their way, to an extent. Some incautiously pre-empted on the company grants; cases came into court, when the poor cabin settler stood no chance with a rich corporation; ejectments and evictions followed, patterned from the Ireland and Scotland

of that day, till, harassed with expensive litigation, they threw up all claims and improvements, and moved farther west into the Connecticut Reserve, where no lands were given away, and titles were guaranteed to purchasers. Large land sales for the development of a new country are not necessarily and totally advantageous to the interests of the people.

The grants of public lands by the United States for canals, highways, and railroads must impress the most careless with the magnitude of the public domain, and its wonderful development. A statement of the vast areas thus granted by the Government for public good might reasonably be discredited in any one of the twenty realms of Europe, Russia excepted. For, to encourage the American people, in private corporations, to open up ways of travel on which they may go about the country and attend to their business, the Government has granted public lands to more than double the area of Great Britain and Ireland, or eight times the area of Scotland. Washington practically inaugurated our system of internal improvements before he had sheathed the sword of the Revolution. While the army lay on their arms at Newburgh, awaiting the details of peace, he, with Gov. George Clinton, made what proved to be the first reconnoissance for the Erie Canal. After Independence was conceded, Washington made his seventh trip over the mountains, gratify-

ing to an extent what he said after the expedition with Governor Clinton: "I shall not rest contented till I have explored the western country, and traversed those lines, or a great part of them, which have given bounds to a new empire."[1] Yet many American travellers make their seventh trip to Europe before they have made their first to "explore the western country and the bounds of a new empire." These excursions of Washington initiated the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and indeed the great system of internal improvement which has since so developed the country.

On this branch of our general topic, in showing where and what the West is, details would be impossible if not useless. Summaries must suffice. One of the severest civil and political struggles of the Government opened in 1803, on the question to what extent the general Government should aid in opening in the new country highways for travel and commerce. The first grant of wild land had been made the previous year in favor of Ohio for public roads, and the first for a canal was in favor of Indiana in 1824. From that date to June 30, 1883, Government has granted and patented for canal purposes 4,424,073 acres; to the same date for wagon roads, 1,741,897 acres; to railroads, 47,004,043 acres, making a total of 53,170,013 acres. This amount of public land, that has been thus donated and passed over into

[1] Irving's Washington, vol. vi. pp. 432–434, 455–459.

private companies, is equal to all New England, and two States as large as Massachusetts additional. The breadth and vastness of the national domain, and the very extensive and rapid development of it, must impress one who entertains even for a few moments these offers and conveyances of wild land.

A few cases in contrast will show how the public land policy has expanded as the people have come to comprehend the magnitude of our domain. In 1835 Congress granted to a Florida company for a railroad a right of way through the public lands, thirty feet on each side of its line, with use of timber three hundred feet on each side, and ten acres for the terminus. The next year Congress granted to the New Orleans and Nashville Railroad Company five acres together for each necessary depot, water station, and workshop, and the grants must be located at least fifteen miles apart. In 1862 Congress incorporated the Union and Central Pacific Railroads to run from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean, about two thousand miles, and for depots, shops, and aid in construction the road was to have every alternate square mile, for five miles deep, on each side of the road. This would secure the donation of land equal to a strip five miles wide from the Missouri to the Pacific. In 1864 the Northern Pacific was chartered to run from Lake Superior to the Pacific Ocean, about two thousand miles. The grant of land was equal

to a belt ten miles wide, where the road should run through a State, and twenty miles wide in a Territory, — about forty-two million acres, — and equal to Rhode Island, Connecticut, and seven States like Massachusetts. It is true the road failed to secure so much land by failing to fill the conditions; but the immensity of the grant is the same, suggestive of the immensity of the public domain.

As the settlements have made growth into our wild country, different business interests have often had each a movement of its own, and enough to constitute a special population for a given belt and time. At first the fur trade led the advance of white men, yet only here and there, as wild animals and Indian hunters offered gain. An agricultural front showed itself everywhere, pioneering and supporting, as it does, all the other industries of civilization. In some sections the lumber-mills, with a peculiar class of people, moved solidly into the timbered sections and devoured the forests by thousands of acres. The coal mountains took to themselves a population unlike any other, and in 1848 the precious metals gathered adventurers from the whole world, who ignored a border by substituting the interior for it, and dropped towns and cities on the mountains and in the cañons, with the hurry and random of the wind when it is sowing wild seed.

The last great interest that has organized and

manifested itself, as not only continental but international, is ranching, stock-raising. Wild lands, not yet fringed with lone cabins and settlements, and stretching every way to the horizon, with the amplitude of the ocean, men have taken for grazing purposes. At first these great American pastures were as free to the herder as the rivers which watered them. Some hint had been given toward this industry by the immense ranches of California and South America that earned fortunes to the owners in hides and tallow only. No one gains a tolerable idea of the amplitude of our domain, and of the leading interests that employ and feed seventy millions of people in it, who has not received quite an amount of compact information on ranching in the United States, and bestowed some close considerations on it. It is designed now to call attention to enough of these ranches here and there to impress the reader with the vastness of a country where men can turn loose for grazing ten thousand, fifty thousand, and even one hundred thousand head of stock in single pastures. Of course the figures must be given in a round way, since there is no official State or National enumeration of the acres and the animals in these vast estates. Sample cases will be taken miscellaneously, and only enough to illustrate the point in hand.[1]

[1] The terms "range," "ranch," and "farm" are used in the new country with this discrimination: The range is a large tract

In April, 1883, a Scotchman opened a ranch of forty-eight square miles — about thirty thousand acres — eighty miles west of Topeka, Kansas. Seventy miles of wire fencing were soon completed, a part of which enclosed a five hundred-acre lot for hogs. At the end of the first year the ranch had twenty-five thousand head of cattle, six hundred hogs, and two hundred and twenty-five yearling and colt mules. At that time there had been expended $100,000 for land, $100,000 for stock, and $25,000 for improvements.

In 1884 there went into operation a contract for grazing between three and four million acres of wild land west of the Arkansas, in the Cheyenne and Arrapahoe reservation. It was leased by the Indians to a company of stock-raisers for five years, on an annuity of $100,000, one half cash and one half live-stock. This is fine grazing-land, and had long been coveted by the border whites. The Indians, no doubt, were expected soon to make trouble, when the Government would remove them, and the land would pass

of wild land used but not owned by individuals or companies but by the United States, for stock-raising; the ranch is a large tract of country owned and used by one or more persons, usually for grazing; the farm is a small ranch, and more or less under cultivation. The writer lacks data to affirm that the term "ranch," as here used, implies in every case personal ownership. In estimating the extent of these ranges and ranches, it will be of aid to remember that the average township of Massachusetts is about 15,000 acres, and the perfect Government township of the West is 23,040 acres.

through a nominal market into ranch rings of white men. The cattle pasture in question is about seven hundred square miles larger than Connecticut.

There is a range in Wyoming, called the Lake Voorhees cattle-range, embracing about a million of acres, forty thousand of which are enclosed by a single wire fence. This range would embrace about sixty of the average townships of Massachusetts.

Some years since a ranchman by the name of Rabb, living near Corpus Christi, Texas, died and left to his widow about forty thousand head of cattle. She has distinguished herself by her good management of the herd, and has acquired the title of the cattle-queen of Texas. Of good physique, plain habits, fond of the saddle and outdoor life, and now the wife of a Methodist clergyman, Mrs. Rogers herds her forty thousand cattle on her two hundred thousand acres, in her own name and by her own management. When the widower, with seven children, married the widow and the herd, his health failed him as a clergyman, and he was obliged to quit preaching. Such cases are not uncommon, and should be a warning to unmarried and healthy ministers. He was unable for some reasons to take charge of the ranch, and fell off into politics and the legislature.

Texas is supposed to have the largest stock ranches in the United States, and probably the best in the world. Leading among them all is the

cattle ranch of Charles Goodwright, on the head of Red River. It contains seven hundred thousand acres; Rhode Island has eight hundred thousand acres. In 1883 it had sixty thousand head of cattle, but will carry one hundred thousand. Though purchased within the last four years, it has two hundred and fifty miles of barbed wire fence. It has naturally the best grass and water and shelter. The stock is made up of the best foreign bloods for beef, and ranges high in the market for the table and for stocking other ranches. The purchase price of the land ranged from fifty cents to one dollar an acre, and the money was advanced by the partner of Goodwright, a Dublin millionnaire, who leaves Ireland annually to look after his American beef. In 1873 Goodwright was a heavy and speculating banker in Colorado, and in 1876 a bankrupt. In his best days he prudently endowed his wife with a herd of cattle, which after his failure he drove into this then wild and free land of Texas, and so recovered his fortune.

While Mr. Goodwright is said to have the best administered ranch in America, Richard King carries the palm for more acres and animals. His huge pasture lands are in two divisions fifty miles apart. Bordering on the Gulf coast of Texas he holds one hundred and sixty thousand acres, while in his inland tract are six hundred thousand. Reports vary as to his amount of stock, for he does not know himself, and the assessors tax him at a

guess. A recent estimate gives him from seventy-five thousand to one hundred thousand cattle, thirty thousand sheep, and twenty thousand horses. His annual sales are about twenty thousand head of beef steers, three thousand to four thousand horses, and as many sheep. His income is about half a million. He entertains in a princely way in his village of neat cottages around his own lordly residence, — Santa Gertrude, — and princes and dukes are said to have been numbered among his guests.

Other ranches for cattle might be named, as Kennedy's, near Corpus Christi, nine miles front on the bay, and extending forty-five miles into the interior. His large and original ranch he sold, before buying this small one, to a Dundee — Scotch — company for $2,500,000. There are also the ranch of Miller and Lux in California, where six hundred men are employed to take care of ninety-five thousand head of cattle and one hundred and ten thousand sheep, and the two ranches of Irvine in Los Angeles County, twenty-two miles by nine in joint extent.

An extract here and there from private letters will give wider information on this point. A friend in Kansas, on the borders of the Indian Territory, writing of ranches, says: "Ours, which is a small one, has twelve miles of river front on both sides of the river. Lee and Scott have about forty miles on the Canadian. . . . Towers and

Gudgell, on the Beaver and Cinnamon rivers, have also forty or more miles. . . . There are several other quite large ranges in this vicinity." A party in the Southwest, answering certain questions on our general theme, has this comprehensive passage in the reply: —

"So far as our acquaintance goes, the largest landholders in the United States are the Maxwell Land Grant Company, 1,800,000 acres in New Mexico; the Matador Cattle Company have about 600,000 acres in Texas; the Texas Land and Cattle Company, about 400,000 acres in Texas; the Prairie Cattle Company about 150,000 acres in Texas and New Mexico; Mr. J. G. Adair, of Ireland, about 400,000 acres in Texas; the Swan Lake and Cattle Company, about 250,000 acres in Wyoming; the Hansford Land and Cattle Company, about 110,000 acres in Texas; the Western Land and Cattle Company, about 70,000 acres in Kansas."

It would be an easy thing to run these items up into scores, in the States and Territories west of the meridian of 100°; but we are not collecting for a catalogue; we cite cases only for illustrations of the public domain as shown by this branch of business. It seems quite in order, in illustrating the immense areas of our country, and some of its industrial productions on a gigantic scale, by reference to personal ownerships, to pass from the ranch

to the farm. The former is grazed and the latter is cultivated. The one is worked for its products by the brute animal process of life, and the other by human hands and mechanics.

California will serve well our purpose, since her extent, with a sea-board that would extend from New York to Charleston, South Carolina, affords natural facilities for almost all the products in American agriculture. In the southern division of that State we find, and without close and complete culling, the following farms: Moffit & Maclay, 20,000 acres; E. J. Baldwin, 20,000; J. W. Hellman, 25,000; Richard Gird, 30,000; J. & L. Bixbey, 30,000; B. F. & G. K. Porter, 36,000; H. M. Newhall, 48,000; J. Irvine, 48,000; Thomas R. Bard, 50,000; D. Freeman, 50,000; Lankersheim & Co., 56,000; John G. Downey, 75,000; James S. Flood, 137,000; General Beale, 200,000; Haggin & Carr, 300,000; Miller & Lux, 600,000; the late Dan Murphy farms, 16,000,000. Probably several of these combine the ranch and farm policy.

Enough instances have been cited for the purpose in hand, and yet certain other conspicuous ones should not be omitted. Off the southern coast of California, and not far from Santa Barbara, lies an island about twenty-four by sixteen miles, called Santa Rosa. This is owned by A. P. Moore, who has stocked it with eighty thousand sheep. About fifty shearers clip the wool twice a year, each man shearing about ninety sheep a day, and

the clip is four hundred and fifteen thousand pounds, returning to Mr. Moore about $112,000. In herding the sheep, trained goats are used instead of dogs, a goat leading the band, and a shepherd the goat. The sheep-ranch was purchased a few years ago for $600,000. Mr. Moore also has an interest in the Santa Cruz island ranch near by, of sixty four thousand acres and twenty-five thousand sheep.

The well-known Dalrymple farm of Dakota should not be omitted in this connection. Its area is thirty thousand acres, and its product of wheat in 1881 was six hundred thousand bushels. The author well remembers seeing the first two square miles that were ploughed of this famous wheat-farm. It was in the autumn of 1875, and the virgin prairie had been turned over, three inches deep, in the preceding June. The black furrows lay up glossy in the October sun, as uniform and distinct as the threads in a web of silk. The next June those twelve hundred and eighty acres, a magnificent parallelogram, gave back thirty thousand bushels of wheat.

It is said that recently Rufus Hatch, with some English capitalists, has purchased seven hundred and fifty thousand acres for stock-raising on the Yellowstone; and if the Farwells and others have made the purchase reported, they are probably the largest landowners in the world. The purchase is made of the State of Texas, in its northeastern

section, and covers a territory of one hundred and ninety-seven miles in length, with an average width of twenty-seven miles, — a tract larger than Connecticut, or almost five times as large as Rhode Island. Such a land property casts the Jefferson estate quite in the shade as diminutive, though noted in the days of the third President. His Albemarle estate comprised 5,591⅔ acres, his Poplar Forest was about the same, while his purchase that embraced the Natural Bridge was one hundred and fifty-seven acres.

The preceding statements as to stock-farms, ranches, and ranges, may be presumed to be reliable up to the date of writing; but as they embrace variable properties, titles and areas and amount of stock must be presumed to change with time. They serve fully, as they stand, the purpose of their introduction, — to illustrate the vastness of our public domain by showing the immensity of local and personal land interests. Had the territory of the United States been confined to the Atlantic slope north of Florida, as the English and French and Spanish combined to do in our first quarter-century, we should to-day be hemmed in by those and other European powers, much as if we were packed somewhere among the present twenty small realms of Europe.

Since the above was written, the author has twice enjoyed wild freedom among the ranches

[1] Report of Governor of Wyoming, 1885, p. 1181.

and ranges of Wyoming and her two million cattle, and of other Western regions. In the wanderings there over illimitable plains, — American steppes or pampas, — the only guides and guards and enclosures were the foot-hills and the rivers. Ambitious Lot, the primitive cowboy, and his uncle Abraham could have arranged easy separation. Lot could have "journeyed east" and found abundance of grazing and water for his stock in the heads of the North Platte and the Yellowstone; while Abraham could have moved off west, and kept among those crystal springs and trout-brooks which give rise to the Colorado and the Columbia. The Territory of Wyoming and of cattle, where we enjoyed so much charming idleness and profitable American observation, would cut up into seventeen Palestines or a dozen Bay States, with clippings enough for a Rhode Island, and ten square miles over. Of course, as we show a friend our line of travel there on a map, the finger or pointer or pencil-head covers up what would make a whole belt of Connecticuts, — much as a Western man is troubled to find Massachusetts on the map, till he lifts his finger from New England.

CHAPTER VIII.

WILD LIFE ON THE BORDER.

GALISTEO is near the junction of the Santa Fé branch with its trunk, the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé Road. In returning from Santa Fé I had passed Galisteo and stopped off two days at Baughl's Station, then so-called, to examine the ruins of Pecos, — an abandoned Aztec pueblo, with its old Spanish church, two years older than Boston. The age of the pueblo is unknown.

At the end of the second day I returned to the station, two miles, to take the Eastern-bound train, mixed, of freight and passengers. It was late, and did not come in till midnight. On arrival, the train-boys rushed for the station-hands and loungers with exciting news from Galisteo. This Galisteo was a kind of shanty and umbrella town, with a great deal of outdoors to it. Here and there was an ancient adobe, marking the Mexican element; while rough board saloons of two rooms, or one with curtain partitions and gaming-tables and bars, showed the American growth. It had signs

enough for a small city, and conspicuous among them was the one of the colored barber.

The exciting news brought up on that midnight train was told by half a dozen at once, as the grim fellows huddled, now in the glare of the head-light of the engine, and now in the murky shadows of cars or shanties or clouds of smoke. I kept near, but shady, while they talked and walked.

"You see," says one, "that lank greaser, Jim, he put it bad on the nigger, and he were rough. The nigger he stood it as long as he could, for he did n't want to fight." "Yes, and a nigger has no chance down this way," said another. "And no right to be in these diggins', anyhow," said a third rough. "By and by," continued the first speaker, "his blood it got hot, and he drew a bead on lank Jim, but, missing him, took Joe Lawkins right in the ribs." "Bad," said some one, "for everybody likes Joe." "If it had been lank Jim, it would have been *bueno*," shouted two or three. "The nigger did n't go for Joe," some one interposed. "Well," continued the first man, "Lawkins he was done for in ten minutes. Then his brother he felt powerful bad, and lank Jim he said, 'Shoot the nigger!' but two or three others said, 'Shoot lank Jim!' Then they said 'yes' and 'no' all round lively. Things got mixed mighty fast, and the fellows got on steam, and every one stood with his finger on his weepon." "Hi! Hi!" cried

two or three. "Well," he continued, "the nigger he was making himself scarce toward the arroyo, when some feller popped on him." "'Lank Jim, you bet," said one. "Yes; and you bet," the principal speaker went on to say, "that three or four put their muzzles right up to lank Jim, and cried, 'You hold!' Well, the barber he was leaving on double quick, and lank Jim's side went after him. Then some fired on them, and they fired back; and in two twinks they were firing both ways, and then all round. Oh, 't was a high old time!" "Well, who is tumbled?" several cried at once. "They brought back the nigger as white as a nigger could be, and the shooting stopped. Then Joe's brother he said, 'This is my business, and the nigger sha' n't be hurt.' Then lank Jim and his side they swore awful; and both sides stood around the nigger, and every man had his finger on his weepon. Then Joe's brother he said, 'The nigger shall have his life in his legs, and an hour's start.' Then they cleaned him of his weepons, and he got up and got; and it were tall, the way he did that thing. Pretty soon Joe's brother he felt powerful bad again; for there lay Joe, and the blood running out of his jacket, and nobody hurt for it. Then Joe's brother he said, 'Somebody must suffer, and you may go for the nigger.' So half of them they prepared to git; and the rest they lifted their weepons, and said, 'You sha' n't touch his curly head, for he did n't go to

do it.' So they were talking high and swinging their weepons, when the machine she whistled 'All aboard!' and we vamosed. But it was a high old time, and I don't know what became of the nig."

In a short time we also were off; and so I left that twilight border of civilization. That "high old time" was not so uncommon an affair, and it was, withal, a bit typical of the front. Such scenes do not often find their way into the papers, for both local papers and readers are scarce. If noted men from the States are waylaid, or large sums of money are stolen, or railroad surveyors are shot down, the incident travels up to the Arkansas and Missouri and so comes East. In Sante Fé I was told that many of her leading men, in the past, had failed to reach a natural death. I had just left Pierce City, Mo., on this same trip, when it was thrown into a fever by a bold daylight stage robbery fifteen miles off; and fifty men jumped to their saddles with rifles in hot hunting for the banditti. In that Southwest these brigands make us think of mountainous Italy and Turkey and the Koord ranges.

Probably the East does not hear of one in a hundred of those outrages. A Galveston paper before me mentions four hundred arrests in that State, in 1880, for crimes punishable with death. Fourteen were convicted, four of these hung, and the others let off lightly. I drifted down toward Liberty County, Texas, that had the credit of

nearly four hundred homicides within a few years.

It thrilled New England when Dr. Leonard Bacon, years ago, gave his account of the seizure of his party by brigands between two stations of the American Board in the East. One need not now go abroad for such incidents; he will find the stations for home missions on the borders far off, and the outrages close by. After I came up from that "high old time" into Colorado, I signed the application for the first Congregational missionary station in New Mexico. They then had none in Arizona. The two Territories are equal to twenty-six areas of Massachusetts, and we then had had them on hand more than thirty years. In that State of four hundred arrests for capital crimes the American Home Missionary Society then had two missionaries only. The great civilizing power at that time in New Mexico was the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé Railroad.

All this accords very well with what Mowry said of that region in 1864: "There is no law or protection from Government. Every man redresses his wrongs with the pistol or knife, or submits in silence."[1] If the germs of many frontier settlements are taken into account, it will be seen that only a low and imperfect stage of civilization can be expected for one or two generations. And if

[1] Arizona and Sonora. By Sylvester Mowry, Delegate to Congress. Harpers, 1864. p. 34.

some of the authorities about to be quoted pertain much to earlier days, it must be considered that half a century and even more sometimes, on an old Spanish and Indian basis, is not a long period for growth and fruiting after the planting of a new civil and social life. Moreover, yesterday is to-day on the frontier. The character, quality, and conduct which marked our extreme western belt of settlement long years ago is quite the same as formerly; it is only the belt which has changed, and it only its place. Perhaps the qualification should be added that there is more violence, rough crime, and brigand outrage since the mining element came in; and the Indians with less roaming-ground, and invaded by an eastern and a western army of immigrants, are the occasion of more personal and bloody rencontres.

The reflections of Monette are strictly just and historically accurate, whether applied to the flood of immigration which set into the frontier in 1774, as he applies them, or to that of any decade since: "It is a fact which has been verified by all experience, from the first occupancy of the British Colonies in North America up to the present time, that when the tide of emigration sets strong toward the wilderness occupied by the native tribes, a large proportion of the most lawless and worthless part of the population is carried in advance of the older settlements like drift-wood upon a swollen river. Hence it is almost impos-

sible for the civil authorities to restrain acts of lawless violence in such persons on the extreme confines of civilization. Men who are impatient of the wholesome restraints of law and social order naturally seek those parts of a civilized community where the arm of the civil authority is weakened by distance, or where they find themselves beyond the reach of civil government."[1]

No language could more aptly describe large sections of our border population of to-day. They have sought the front for the reasons here given, and maintain a semi-civilized independence of civil government. Between 1769 and 1823 the Franciscan Missions settled about five hundred miles of the California coast, and inland for fifty miles. Church and State united in this work,— the one for religion, and the other for empire; and the soldiers and colonists sent out by the Government were often ruffians and renegades transported for crimes.[2] All of New Spain had much of this unfortunate material in its foundations, and we are prepared, therefore, to read what Lieutenant Pike said of it in the narrative of his Expedition into it, published in 1807. In an apologetic paragraph in the Preface he says: "With respect to the Spanish part, it has been suggested to me by

[1] Monette, History of the Valley of the Mississippi, vol. i. p. 369.

[2] The Natural Wealth of California. By Titus Fye Cronise. 1868.

some respected friends, that the picture I drew of the manners, morals, etc., of individuals, generally of New Spain, if a good likeness, was certainly not making a proper return for the hospitality and kindness with which those people honored me. Those reasons have induced me to omit many transactions, and draw a veil over various habits and customs, which might appear in an unfavorable point of view, at the same time that I have dwelt on their virtues."

Where so much of the uncivilized and degrading is revealed, it is difficult to imagine what can have been veiled. Of that New Spain the United States took the area of one hundred and four States like Massachusetts, including Texas and the Gadsden purchase, and the Galisteo of the opening paragraph in this chapter is a part of it.

The evil elements here indicated in our territory of Spanish colonizations have been enhanced in our earlier frontier domain by the mixed nationalities of the border men. In years gone by, in the second and third quarters of this century, we were not receiving from the Old World so good a class of foreigners as to-day, and with their imported notions of government and law in this country, as also of social and moral life, these mixed races from the Old World did not well unify or constitute the best foundations for coming towns. Look at those founders as grouped by Bradbury, the English traveller, in the "Interior

of North America in 1809–11": "The population is at present compounded of a great number of nations not yet amalgamated, consisting of emigrants from every State in the Union, mixed with English, Irish, Scotch, Dutch, Swiss, German, French, and almost from every country in Europe." [1]

If an Eastern community, under traditional régime, staid, conservative, and almost fossil, is sometimes perplexed or alarmed by the advent of a few "foreigners," presumed to be innovators and possibly lawless, what is to be thought or said of one of these frontier belts of Bradbury? With time and aid all will come right, if the assimilating and organizing present can be well passed. The future is insured; it is the present which is critical, since man's natural state, antecedent to local government, is a wild state.

Account also must be taken of the fact that many new settlements are started, not only by pioneers, but by families whose ancestors have been pioneers for two or three generations. One citation will show a double fact, — what the old frontier was, and what the new one must be for a season. An English tourist in California, in 1857, speaking of the immigrants there from Pike County, Mo., says: "Till they came to California, most of them had never in their lives before seen two houses together; and in any little village in

[1] Bradbury's Travels, p. 304.

the mines they witnessed more of the wonders of civilization than ever they had dreamed of."[1]

In the United States nothing seems to test the civilization of a man more than to have his own interests brought into close relations with the interests of the Indians. Right and wrong appear to lose their immutability as held and practised in older and more civilized communities, and one is inclined to ask whether pecuniary and social morals are provincial. At least, a keen sense of right, honor, and integrity do not seem to have emigrated with the man to the semi-wild frontier, or there is something in his new surroundings that is decivilizing. This is an experience or fact which antedates the founding of the Republic and is still vigorous in its repetition.

In 1768 the president of the King's Council for Virginia set forth, in a message to the Colonial Legislature, "that a set of men, regardless of the laws of natural justice, unmindful of the duties they owe to society, and in contempt of the royal proclamations, have dared to settle themselves upon the lands near Redstone Creek and Cheat River, which are the property of the Indians; and notwithstanding the repeated warnings of the danger of such lawless proceedings, and the strict and spirited injunctions to desist and quit their unjust possessions, they still remain unmoved, and seem

[1] Three Years in California. By J. D. Borthwick, 1851–52. Edinburgh and London, 1857. pp. 147, 148.

to defy the orders and even the powers of the Government." [1]

It would be difficult to frame passages more pertinent for a presidential proclamation against the invasion of Oklahoma in 1884. This falling off of frontier men into a wild border life is as notable as it is lamentable, and has causes which are permanent, while the decades run by and the frontier moves on. The explanation may lie partly in the fact that the looseness incident to camp, tent, and saddle life makes an equitable government and fair-toned justice quite impossible. Be the causes what they may, the humiliating passage of Mackenzie cannot be much qualified: "Experience proves that it requires much less time for a civilized people to deviate into the manners and customs of savage life than for savages to rise into a state of civilization." [2]

Of this decivilizing process, Parkman, in "The Old Régime in Canada," gives a graphic and startling account in the thirteenth and seventeenth chapters. It was while Canada was yet French domain, and that defeat, on the Plains of Abraham, so total and so continental, was in the nearing future: —

"Out of the beaver trade rose a huge evil, baneful to the growth and the morals of Canada. All

[1] Butler's History of Kentucky, Appendix, p. 475.

[2] Voyages from Montreal to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans in 1789 and 1793, Preface.

that was most active and vigorous in the colony took to the woods and escaped from the control of intendants, councils, and priests, to the savage freedom of the wilderness. . . . Edict after edict was directed against them; and more than once the colony presented the extraordinary spectacle of the greater part of its young men turned into forest outlaws. . . . Their plan was to be absent four years, in order that the edicts against them might have time to relent. . . . The king ordered that any person going into the woods without a license should be whipped and branded for the first offence, and sent for life to the galleys for the second."

Denonville, the Governor of Canada, reports in later years "on their vagabond and lawless ways, their indifference to marriage, and the mischief caused by their example; describes how on their return from the woods they swagger like lords, spend all their gains in dress and drunken revelry, and despise the peasants, whose daughters they will not deign to marry, though they are peasants themselves, . . . and cause their children to be as unruly as Indians, being brought up in the same manner." Married or unmarried, these renegades of civilization, in their four years' absence for trade and wilderness freedom among the Indians, had left their children scattered through the forests.

Lord Selkirk's Red River Settlement, when his

heirs were bought out in 1835, serves well the illustration of Wild Life on the Border. "The inhabitants of the region at the time were of as motley and miscellaneous a make-up as any extensive region of the earth would have afforded, — Canadians, half-breeds, Indians, and naked, painted, and feathered savages, strutting and fuming *voyageurs*, farmers, hunters, fishermen, furnished with missionaries of rival creeds, and not without means of education. Groups of human dwellings presented the strongest contrast, as between well-furnished and well-stocked houses and farm-barns, and the filthiest, dreariest cabins and wigwams. Any of the Indians who were inclined to adopt the usages of civilization had the progressive stages of it set before them and facilitated, all the way up from and all the way down to barbarism. Many of the settlers, however, were faithful to their Indian wives, sought to raise them and their habits and modes of life, and sent their half-blood offspring to Canada and Europe for education." [1]

It is very true that these facts are old, yet not old enough to be obsolete or unrepeated. In 1843–44 Frémont made an exploring tour to Oregon and northern California. On the return to the States the expedition stopped June 1st of the latter year, at Roubideau's trading-post on the Uin-

[1] The Red Man and the White Man. By George E. Ellis. p. 494.

tah river, and Frémont thus speaks of it: "It has mostly a garrison of Canadians and Spanish *engagés* and hunters, with the usual number of Indian women." Two years afterward all that region was swept into the Union, and to-day it is a fitting part of polygamous Utah.

We sometimes try to think that wild life on the border has been lived out, and gone into legends and books. No doubt the era of blood in San Francisco is passed, which is thus epitomized by the California "Alta" of June 1, 1856: "Over a year ago we understood the district attorney to state, in an argument before a jury in a murder case, that since the settlement of San Francisco by the American people there had been twelve hundred murders committed here. We thought at the time the number stated was unduly large, and think so still."

That city has done making such records, yet others are doing it in our new country. In October, 1880, a policeman of Leadville, then a city of twelve thousand, informed the writer that since he entered that service in the March preceding, the violent deaths there had averaged two a week. "The highest time we had was a Sunday in April, when seven were killed."

We return to early San Francisco in this study of American the border. An English traveller made himself somewhat familiar with California in the years 1851–54, and speaks in this way of

the amusements and habits of San Francisco at that time: "The most curious were certainly the masquerades. They were generally given in one of the large gambling-saloons, and in the placards announcing that they were to come off appeared conspicuously the intimations of 'No Weapons Admitted;' 'A Strong Police will be in Attendance.'"[1]

Many years after we came into possession of New Mexico, as an official of the United States informed the author, there in a prominent city social assemblies were held twice a week, and they were originated and patronized by the leading men; but none of their partners were their wives, or married women.

The Sabbath is a good day in which to view the frontier. Of the origin, authority, modes of observance, and utility of the Christian Sabbath there are many views, and all are entitled to consideration, though conflicting. In the main, however, there is a general agreement that the mode and tone in which this day is received and passed are a fair index to the civil, social, and moral character of the place. These illustrations, therefore, out of many of Sabbath life, are cited to show some phases of the border. Flint has already been quoted as an intelligent, observing, and candid resident of ten years on the frontier, — 1815–25.

[1] Three Years in California. By J. D. Borthwick. Edinburgh and London, 1857. p. 77.

He was both a teacher and a minister, and has left this record of the Sabbath at the Post of Arkansas. When he marks the observance as French, it must be borne in mind that he samples a wide territory, and a people who gave a broad and deep quality to the primitive civilization of the Mississippi Valley: "The French people generally came to the place of worship arrayed in ball-dresses, and went direct from worship to the ball. A brilliant room was near, and parts of my audience sometimes came in for a moment, and after listening to a few sentences returned to their billiards."[1]

The vivid recollections of St. Louis come back, as we found it fifteen years later, with its seventeen thousand people, French, Spanish, and American, and a bold dash of blood from old Europe. There was unusual life on the Sabbath, though not much business on the levee, between the solid Front Street trading-houses and the twenty to forty steamers lying uneasy at the bank in the muddy Missouri water. The clear and comparatively pure Mississippi was crowded by it to the Illinois shore, and it hugged it with more or less of the distinctness of a dividing line for fifty miles down. For religious purposes we made regularly the Sabbath tour of the levee and steamers all through the months of open navigation for a year. The Christian Sabbath was as foreign to that levee as any sacred day of an Arab or Hindu. Many

[1] Flint's Travels, p. 274.

shops were open in the city · parades with music were common ; and as congregations were gathering for worship it created no surprise to meet a band of clattering horsemen on the streets headed for the country, carrying their fowling-pieces and whistling their game-dogs along.

Borthwick the Englishman has been already quoted. His description of a mining town on the Sabbath will answer to-day as faithfully as twenty-five years ago to any large mining camp between the Black Hills and Sonora : —

"During the week, and especially when the miners were all at work, Hangtown [now Placerville] was comparatively quiet, but on Sundays it was a very different place. On that day the miners living within eight or ten miles all flocked in to buy provisions for the week, to spend their money in the gambling-saloons, to play cards, to get their letters from home, and to refresh themselves after a week's labor and isolation in the mountains, in enjoying the excitement of the scene according to their tastes. . . . The storekeepers did more business on Sundays than in all the rest of the week; and in the afternoon crowds of miners could be seen dispersing over the hills in every direction, laden with the provisions they had been purchasing, chiefly flour, pork, and beans, and perhaps a lump of fresh beef. . . . There was only one place of public worship in

Hangtown, — a very neat little wooden edifice which belonged to some denomination of Methodists, and seemed to be well attended. . . . On the streets almost every one wore a pistol or a knife, many wore both; but they were rarely used." [1]

There may have been no natural and original connection between the name and the Sabbath character of this place, but there is a legitimate and grim aptness between the two. "Placerville, known in early times as 'Hangtown,' in memory of the lynching there of three men who were arrested for highway robbery, and two of them identified as the persons guilty of a murder." [2]

A pen-photograph of the place by our author will not be out of place on this page: "The street itself was in many places knee-deep in mud, and was plentifully strewed with old boots, hats, and shirts, old sardine-boxes, empty tins of preserved oysters, empty bottles, worn-out pots and kettles, old ham-bones, broken picks and shovels, and other rubbish too various to particularize." [3]

Although our Southwest, beyond the Mississippi, cannot all be called border land, it has been characterized by a wild life that should be embraced in the survey of this chapter. When we purchased Louisiana, we annexed a civilization

[1] Three Years in California. By J. D. Borthwick. 1851–54. pp. 118, 119.

[2] Tuthill's History of California, p. 389.

[3] Borthwick, pp. 114, 115.

essentially foreign, and much of it mediæval; and while it has to an extent been Americanized, it still presents startling and painful points to one who would make the region a social and moral study. What New Orleans was, much of society still is, on the west of it, and up to the then receding border. When we read the account of that city, by George W. Cable, the wonder is, not that social convulsions have agitated society there, and the wide regions moulded by it, but that the framework itself of society has endured. And while his painfully graphic description is confined nominally to the city at one epoch, it runs out, practically, over a vast area to the west, and into an era of half a century: —

"Between 1831 and 1833 the foreign exports and imports ran up from twenty-six to nearly fifty-four millions of dollars. . . . Vice put on the same activity that commerce showed. The Creole had never been a strong moral force. The American came in as to gold diggings or diamond fields, — to grab and run. The transatlantic immigrant of those days was the offscouring of Europe. The West Indian was a leader in licentiousness, gambling, and duelling. The number of billiard-rooms, gaming-houses, and lottery offices was immense. In the old town they seemed to be every second house. There was the French Evangelical Church Lottery, the Baton Rouge Church Lottery, the

Natchitoches Church Lottery, and a host of others less piously inclined. The cafés of the central town were full of filibusters. . . . Even in the heart of the town highway robbery and murder lay always in wait for the incautious night wayfarer who ventured out alone. . . . The worst day of all the week was Sunday. The stores and shops were open, but toil slackened and license gained headway. Gambling-rooms and ball-rooms were full, weapons were often out, the masques of the Salle de Condé were thronged with men of high standing, and crowds of barge and rafts men, as well as Creoles and St. Domingoans, gathered at those open-air African dances, carousals, and debaucheries in the rear of the town, that have left their monument in the name of Congo Square. . . . Schools were scarce and poor, churches few and ill-attended, and domestic service squalid, inefficient, and corrupt." [1]

This is not the New Orleans of to-day, but that New Orleans is now diffused, propagated, "gone West" into and across Texas, into the interior and on the borders.

Sample and reference illustrations would properly follow such a statement. We enter a Texan hotel in the newer interior or rough border of this Empire State. The "hostelrie" is a shanty struggling to be a story and a half. Office, reception-

[1] The Century, June, 1883. The Great South Gate. By George W. Cable. pp. 221, 222.

room, ladies' room, common sitting-room, private parlors, and the family room are all one and the same apartment, twelve feet by twelve. The gaunt traveller easily measures the height of the ceiling if he is above five feet ten, and stoops to conquer a position. Within this room are the squat, uncourtly, unwashed landlord; the landlady and baby and nursery appendages; half a dozen urchins of the family stock, which in Texas seems to run mostly to boys; some cowboys in leather breeches and spurs, and whiskey with its spurs; loafers from the nearest cabins in constant attendance; two or three boarders with wives, — it is just before dinner, — and a couple of horseback travellers. The announcement of dinner sweeps them all into a banqueting-hall of corresponding splendor and furnishing — in a "lean-to." As the rosy sunset fades out, and dewy eve steals on, they all retire to their several apartments, and do not go far, for sweet repose. The sable curtains of the night make further description impossible, and so we leave the reader fancy free. Men of saddle, or buggy, or stage, over the magnificent distances in the portions of sparsely-peopled Texas, know experimentally that this description is drawn mildly, and will answer for much highway off the railroad in an immense State.

These are an American type of the merry foresters of early England, with some dash of the Knights of the Round Table in their blood. Amer-

icans and citizens, yet owning to no government that does not go with them in the saddle, they live a hybrid order of life, produced of the prairie and saddle and tent. The untravelled yet intelligent man of the old thirteen States, living among the hills of his ancestors, with schoolhouses and kind neighbors, and churches and bridges, and old oaken buckets swinging in the wells of Jacobs all about him, knows the least possible of his fellow-citizens on the border. He has not enough in his mind of even "such stuff as dreams are made of" to furnish a sleepy conception of them. What occasion has he ever had to know what a saddle and sleeping blanket, now a tent and now a bed, a camp-fire, and a buffalo or antelope steak broiled on a ramrod, will make of a man? It would require eight New Englands to cover United States territory which is occupied more or less in this way. The fascination of it and its power of self-propagation and extension are an amazement to every book student of civilization.

One of the problems of a Christian civilization, so called, offers itself to our study, with a vast expanse and a diffuse population, constituting the wild border-life on our southwest. Aboriginally it was barbarian and pagan, in the European terms of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Then came European civilization and Spanish Christianity to lift up the people. With what results? "The Pueblo Indians, living in well-built villages,

depending upon agriculture, possessing certain comforts of manufactures and arts, and advanced somewhat in civil and social ideas, were encountered by the Spaniards, three and a third centuries ago, in the same localities where they are now found, and with the same manners and customs as to-day."[1]

As to their explorers, or rather invaders, the same author says: "In all forms of treaties and in all cases of submission the unalterable condition of faith to the new religion was required." Speaking of the pueblo of Taos, the most powerful in numbers and resources referred to by the old Spanish historians, he says: "They live in the same homes to-day as then, and occupy much the same land now as then. They are little if any better off in lands, property, numbers, and comforts now than they were three hundred years ago." As a sample pueblo, our officer of the United States Army, who has studied his theme on the ground as well as in the library, thus refers to Acoma, a pueblo: "Inhabited since history began, it seems the same place to-day as described three hundred and thirty years ago, — has gained nothing, nor lost in any respect its ancient features." Covering the Pueblo and Aztec population generally, the same authority adds: "We should, at the first thought, have expected to have found some of the

[1] A Political Problem : New Mexico and the New Mexicans. By an Officer of the Army. 1876. p. 2.

blessings of civilization and Christianity. But with this delineation of the true character of their religion we must conclude our premise wrong. In the Pueblo communities themselves it is known that the ancient belief and the ancient rites have always been preserved, and are to-day kept up with a pretended acquiescence in the ritual of the established Church." Referring to the civil, moral, and religious influences of the United States there since it became a part of our dominion, he concludes with this mild statement, so mortifying and reproving to our methods of administering Christianity : "No sign has been exhibited, in twenty-six years, of the adoption of our ideas of civilization, or of amendment of their points of variance." [1]

These quoted remarks apply equally well to Arizona as to New Mexico. The original population is Mexican or Aztec, — synonymous terms, — and pueblos are simply Mexican or Aztec villagers living on reservations, with a communistic house, more or less walled, for defence. The rest of the population, equally Aztec, is diffused through the country in various pursuits. Of the pueblos proper, as walled towns, about twenty-five are extant. Many are abandoned of population, the last of which was Pecos. If the Pueblos differ from the rest of the Mexicans on either side of the Rio Grande, it is in having retained a purer Aztec blood and morals, and more of the charac-

[1] A Political Problem, pp. 29, 17, 23, 30, 31.

teristics which marked the race before the invasion of Europeans. So far as yet appears, ethnologically the Aztecs are a race distinct from the North American Indians; though this name, Indian, is loosely given to the more uncivilized portions of them in Mexico, as well as in New Mexico and Arizona.

Such is one section of our wild American border, pagan and Christian in its religion; as to the natives, pagan and mediæval in its civilization when annexed to the United States; and strangely neglected afterward in our home and foreign schemes and expenditures for educating and Christianizing the unfortunate and degraded. It was left for railroad enterprise to carry the nineteenth and Christian century into our conquered and annexed Southwest.

This condition of civil and social and moral life on the frontier, which we have been outlining, does not seem surprising to the thoughtful, but, on the contrary, quite natural and reasonable. What otherwise can be expected? For two hundred years, and especially for the last one hundred, since the Revolution into independence opened the way west, and stimulated the emigrating propensities of the Americans, we have rushed over the border. When the Republic was born, a thousand personal, individual, and sovereign interests were born, and a boundless interior invited to their development. History has no parallel to the

American migration of this current century. But it was building the State out into open space. The deep soil and the minerals, the mountains and prairies and forests and rivers, and the skies of God were the raw material, and on the building-lot. The State is yet to come, and must be built on the ground. It cannot be immigrant, while its founders must be. It can no more be moved out from the old East, as by a colony in an emigrant train, than the old Pilgrim wells of Plymouth and Salem. The State is an autocthon, though of imported germs. It comes of society, which in a new country is composed of the imported fragments of an old disintegrated society, which fragments, on the new building ground, we call immigrants. These fragments have gone west, as individuals and families, disintegrating and reducing some of the old States, as Maine and New Hampshire. Between 1860 and 1870 they did not hold their own, but fell off in population from emigration. Between 1850 and 1860 Vermont barely held her own, from the same cause.

Now, as to deterioration in this new society which is to build the State on the border, consider how much of the man is left behind when one emigrates. He carries with him his qualities but not his character, as the transplanted tree carries its label and its branches, but only a part of its roots, which hold its vitality and strength. As he makes a new farm, or business, or dwelling-

house, he must make a new reputation, or power to do. At this stage many emigrants reveal a humiliating weakness. They have been indebted to society more than they or their old neighbors were conscious of, for their good name and general usefulness. They have stood upright in their old surroundings, because not required to stand alone. Traditions, ambitions, honorable relations, fears of failure and shame, virtues enforced by surroundings, as cheaper than vices, have in the old home of childhood braced them up to an erectness. These favorable surroundings do not emigrate with a man when he crosses the Ohio or Missouri. Many a timber has no dishonor in the old house, but is a poor stick in rebuilding. Common law, civil law, genial neighborhood benedictions, the schoolhouse and the church do not emigrate. These must be built into the new settlement as truly as the highway and farm and bridge. The intellectual and literary atmosphere which the body politic must breathe, to be vigorous and well-toned, is not native to the virgin forests and prairies and mountains of the coveted West. The school and the academy and the college, with their historic playgrounds and ancestral avenues and classic associations, — great factors in making noble men and women, — come slowly on the border.

In all these unfavorable circumstances perils come promptly. In the passage from the old to the new, in the disintegration, removal, and recon-

struction, a thousand miles into the interior, with so much of good and indispensable inevitably left behind, a civil, social, and moral relapse in the building of the new state is a painful and necessary certainty. For civilization has its laws of decline as well as of growth. Until the unemigrating and indispensable qualities for the higher civilization which crowned society in the old thirteen states can be produced for the new state, on the new ground, there must be decline. The second generation will fall below the first, possibly the third below the second, in the stronger, nobler, and sweeter elements of the family and of the public. This decline will sometimes show itself in a loose undervaluing of education, or in a low pride in the unrefined, or in a contempt for what is delicate in taste and feeling. The amusements, also, will usually indicate this retrograde, by assuming more of a coarse, physical, semi-animal and semi-vicious character. All such is a hint that decivilization is going on, and the ease and rapidity of such tendencies are surprising to one who has not observed or studied them. Civilization is an acquisition or conquest over nature, obtained with struggle and held by perpetual vigilance.

These decivilizing causes and retrograde tendencies on the border are outlined here in no way of reflection or reproach on our pioneer belt of citizens. They are perils incident to the emi-

grating, dissolved, and reconstructing stage of society, inevitable, and inseparable from the migratory state. Those who take the republic in their hands thus to enlarge it, and who, therefore, necessarily incur these disadvantages and perils, not always successfully, are entitled to our sympathy, and to our honor even, in some failures. As usually the strongest and most energetic emigrate, they have probably done what the best would have done.

When we add to this exposed class the emigrants of fortune, and the American nomads of the border, who pour contempt on education and society and law and morals, and add also the criminal tramps and desperadoes of a new country, it will be seen that the state is to be builded with great difficulties on our frontier, as we constantly crowd it along into a farther wilderness. When, in the first stage of the Marietta Colony under Putnam, they wrote out an extempore code of laws, and posted it on the trees around their rude cabins, the temptations and proclivities were strong toward a government as rough and rude as their cabins, and only the exceptionally high tone of the settlers saved them from it. For when there is no king in Israel, and every one is left to do what is right in his own eyes, there is a good opening toward anarchy and barbarism, and all the more if in a country in the wild and unsubdued state of nature.

Illustrative cases are not wanting in history to show what has here been said. Spain sent her best blood and high Castilian civilization into her New Spain. True, it was of the sixteenth century; but then Europe had nothing better to offer for colonial founders than those knightly and courtly generals and civilians. In their wilderness homes they fell away from their Castilian breeding and ambitions, and their posterity and their institutions compromised with the natives on midway grounds, and now but few remnants and faint memories of that high origin can be discovered.

Not far from the time when Jamestown and Plymouth and Salem were being founded, and the American Commonwealths were germinating, high Protestants, and of the strictest type, left Holland to colonize South Africa. Better blood and principles, civil and religious, were not abundant in Europe. The Netherlands, as the colonial mother, then led on the high seas, and her children were not left to want, until the adverse combinations of the seventeenth century turned off those colonists to a kind of orphanage. Then came a relapse, and uncivilized nature began to claim her wild rights. The virgin, rich country, and surrounding and intermingling savage tribes, the border Indians of their frontier, turned that old Dutch energy into daring recklessness. Then, stooping lower and still lower, they became a temptation and a prey to British ambitions and invasions; and imported

governors, by their humiliating and oppressive administrations, hastened their apostasy from the civilization of their ancestors of the Rhine and the Zuyder Zee and Amsterdam. They affiliated with the natives and barbarized themselves. When their English invaders, in struggles at subjugation, drove them from one border to another, and attempted to win the Caffre aborigines to British loyalty by Christian baptism, they turned away from that type of Christianity with contempt. They came to a pause in their decivilizing tendencies when freedom for this Dutch blood was secured, after many fierce struggles, but they paused on a level much below their original and colonial one. "They are now a race of nominally Christian barbarians, — barbarians under the Synod of Dort; a standing proof that Protestants, and they, too, of the Saxon blood, may drop out of civilization, and take their place on the same level of ignorance and social brutality with the barbarous tribes of the earth. Let no American that loves his country refuse to heed the example."[1]

[1] Barbarism the First Danger. By Horace Bushnell, D.D.

CHAPTER IX.

PIONEERING IN EDUCATION.

IT was very fortunate that, when the young American Republic made that great advance into the Northwest Territory, it was started among the schoolhouses of the New England pattern. At the second meeting of the Ohio Company, March 5, 1788, it was voted "That the Directors be requested to pay as early attention as possible to the education of youth."

When, in July following, the territorial government was proclaimed by Governor St. Clair, one ordinance declared that "schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." The fact is to be held in the perpetual and grateful remembrance of this Ohio Company, that they originated the usage of setting apart a certain portion of the wild lands of the Government for the support of public schools. The act took a modified form in the Congress of 1803, by which certain parcels of land were so set apart, first, in the United States Military Tract, and in the Connecticut Reserve, and in the Virginia Military Reservation, — all in the Ohio. Then the act proceeds to set apart

"one thirty-sixth part of all the lands of the United States, lying in the State of Ohio," certain conditions being appended. When, three years later, Congress had next an occasion to recognize this Ohio school policy while framing a territorial government for the new Territory of Louisiana, it incorporated the theory and practice into the organic structure of the Territory. From that time onward, as new Territories and States have enlarged the American Union, the general Government has distinctly and constitutionally said to each, "Schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." Prior to 1848 every sixteenth section of public land in every township, in any State admitted was reserved for the interests of the public school. After that date the amount reserved was doubled, and Sections 16 and 36 were reserved.[1] When Wyoming, the last Territory to be organized, was added in 1868, it was enacted "That sections numbered 16 and 36 in each township in said Territory shall be, and the same are hereby reserved for the purposes of being applied to public schools in the State or States hereafter to be erected out of the same." Almost in identical words from the first, and to each new member, as Illinois, Arkansas, Utah, and New Mexico, this has been said; and so the basis for public-school education has been laid by the foresight of

[1] Public Domain: A Public Document. By Thomas Donaldson. Washington. 1884. p. 223.

the national Government in the full persuasion that the public school is indispensable to a republic.

With two exceptions this wise policy of the Government has prevailed whenever new country has been added to the national domain, or any unorganized portion of it has been placed under territorial or state government. Alaska is one of the exceptions, since it yet has no territorial government. Texas is the other, which came into the Union as a foreign and sovereign State, so that the United States made in it no acquisition of public lands.

As fast as Indian titles to lands have been extinguished, and the lands so gained have been exposed to public sale, this reservation and proviso have prevailed. On the assumption that each new township embraces thirty-six square miles, and that each mile is numbered on a prescribed plan, numbers sixteen and thirty-six are reserved for schools.

The scope and power of this Ohio Company proviso, as one dwells a little on it, run off into the sublime. All American children are born heirs to an interest and right in a public education. Theoretically, neither poverty nor the wilderness can be a bar to the privilege, but practically there are some serious and adverse conditions. Reference has been made in the chapter "Ancient Chicago" to the student life of the Kinzie boy in Chicago in 1810, and to the private school of Mr. Watkins there, in

an old stable, in 1832, and to the private school of Miss Chappel and Miss Barrows, about the same time. This region was covered by the original provision for public schools, based on the public lands; but the system was of slow growth, and had not yet practically arrived at Chicago. In 1841 the private English and Classical School of the writer was a fair type of the provisions for education in St. Louis and other leading towns west of the Mississippi. Private enterprise furnished the opportunities.

At first thought one would expect better educational provisions in the ancient Upper Louisiana, and in that old Franco-Spanish and English city of 1764. But one must remember that the great valley had a Papal planting, and it was then no theory of the Catholic Church to educate the masses. Indeed, an early colonial governor of Virginia, Protestant as he was, thanked God that there were no public schools in the Old Dominion. Writing of the state of education in Louisiana in 1791, Monette says: "Heretofore but little attention had been given to education in Louisiana. Schools were few, and confined exclusively to the wealthy, or were under the control of the clergy, where the expenses of education effectually excluded the great mass of the people. The only school in New Orleans was one under the control of the priests, taught by a few Spanish nuns. . . . During the autumn of 1791, however,

a number of French refugees from the massacre of St. Domingo arrived in New Orleans, and being destitute of property, were compelled to seek a livelihood in the capacity of teachers. Many of them, being well educated, became valuable citizens of Louisiana, and contributed greatly to the subsequent introduction of schools in the Province." [1]

At this time New Orleans contained a population of about six thousand.

The control of education in Louisiana, as in all Papal countries, was conceded to the sacred orders, and the nuns had charge of much of it, as an outside work of mercy. Major Stoddard, who received the Province of Upper Louisiana from Spain for France, as the commissioned representative of the latter, and who under his commission delivered the territory the next day to the agent of the United States, and who at the same time entered on his office as civil and military commandant of Upper Louisiana, makes these remarks concerning the Ursuline Convent in New Orleans: "Attached to the convent is a small house, containing three rooms, divided longitudinally from each other by double gratings about six inches asunder, with apertures about two inches square, where strangers may see and converse with the nuns and boarders on particular business. . . . Near to the

[1] Monette's History of the Mississippi Valley, vol. i. pp. 480, 481.

main building [convent], and on the street, stands an old schoolhouse, where the female children of citizens appear at fixed hours to be gratuitously instructed in writing, reading, and arithmetic." [1]

Some similar and slight provision was at the same time elsewhere made for a free boys' school. The same author says of the whole province : " The public treasury advanced but little money for the support of seminaries of learning ; no laws were ever made to compel the inhabitants to maintain schools. Even in New Orleans, the capital of the Province, two schools only were patronized by public authority. . . . The Ursuline Nuns usually received $600 per annum from the public, and this sum, together with avails of about one thousand acres of land belonging to the convent, enabled them to educate twelve female orphans. . . . There were also some private schools in the city, but they were of no great use. The settlements at a distance from the capital were still worse provided, and a person who could read and write was considered as a kind of prodigy among them." In the college of priests at Kaskaskia " scholastic divinity afforded almost the only subject of investigation." [2]

This educational system of the old Louisiana, shown in its best estate in New Orleans, was Euro-

[1] Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana. By Major Amos Stoddard. 1812. pp. 152, 154, 155.

[2] Ibid., pp. 308, 309.

pean and mediæval, and totally foreign to the American genius. The city itself was of the same type of civilization, and it was a walled town with four gates. These were shut every night at nine, and after that hour no one was permitted to walk the streets without leave from the governor.

The same theory and practice in matters of education prevailed at the same time in the Canadas. "All education was controlled by priests and nuns. The ablest teachers in Canada were the Jesuits. Their college of Quebec was three years older than Harvard. . . . They were taught a little Latin, a little rhetoric, and a little logic; but against all that might rouse the faculties to independent action the Canadian schools prudently closed their doors. . . . The true purpose of the schools was — first, to make priests, and secondly, to make obedient servants of the Church and the King; all the rest was extraneous, and of slight account." About 1720 a printing-press was brought into Canada, but was soon sent out again.[1]

It will readily be seen what a change must have come over that imperial addition to the Union — more than doubling its area — when it was added to the United States, and came under the same beneficent and patriotic provisions for universal public instruction. At the same time the Territory offered a most inviting opening for the theory

[1] The Old Régime in Canada. By Francis Parkman. pp. 359, 360.

and practice of such a system of popular education as would meet the necessities of a republican government with its free ballot. One or two generations must pass away before the scheme could be intelligently apprehended. To this prior condition is due in part the fact that the per cent of those unable to read is as high as twenty-eight, and of those unable to write, thirty-eight in every one hundred in Arkansas, and twenty-four and twenty-nine in Texas, and sixty and sixty-five in New Mexico, while it is only four and seven in a hundred in Illinois.

It needs this statement of the almost total neglect of education in the ancient Louisiana, soon to come into the Union, to show the utility and scope of the fundamental provision for popular and universal instruction, introduced by the Ohio Company, and which crossed the Mississippi with the American flag.

Of course an incident mentioned by Bradbury is not typical, but it is illustrative, of the popular ignorance prevalent in the early part of this century on the frontier. Mr. Bradbury and company were in New Madrid and vicinity in 1811, during the earthquake which was so destructive, and they experienced much of the force of it, and afterward went among the stricken people and the ruins. "One of the men," he says, "who appeared to be considered as possessing more knowledge than the rest, entered into an explanation of the cause

of the earthquake, and attributed it to the comet that had appeared a few months before, which he described as having two horns, over one of which the earth had rolled and was now lodged betwixt them; that the shocks were occasioned by the attempts made by the earth to surmount the other horn. If this should be accomplished all would be well; if otherwise, inevitable destruction to the world would follow. Finding him confident in his hypothesis, and myself unable to refute it, I did not dispute the point." [1]

In those border settlements of seventy years ago the necessaries of civilization came slowly and singly, and they do not totally otherwise to-day. When the way-worn immigrant made a final camp beside his faithful wagon, and turned loose his family and staked off his homestead, the comforts were all ahead, and not all the troubles behind. The brush, grass, and turf roof will give shelter for a few months, while he turns the first furrow, plants the first kernels of corn and spoonful of wheat, digs the first well, and throws the first logs over the ugly ford. By and by he lays the first shingle, and his family eat their first frontier potato. Of course the schoolhouse comes tardily in the long procession of first things, where so many need to lead. Especially must this be so in a valley in the great American Basin, recently visited by the

[1] Travels in the Interior of North America in 1809, 1810, 1811. By John Bradbury. p. 206.

writer, where the mail is delivered weekly in its upper section, and the nearest store for a sack of flour, yard of tape, or cake of yeast, is one hundred and twenty-five miles away.

A kind of heroism attaches to this imperative provision of the Government to secure, by the organic laws of a Territory, the introduction of the common-school system. A section of this valley belt, one hundred and twenty-five miles long, we found without a school. Money could be raised for school purposes, and schools made movable up and down the long and narrow districts, being held in the private cabins of the families, now here and now there, on mutual plans for the good of all. We lately found a public school on the Oregon Short Line Railroad, where only two houses were in sight, and the pupils came into this lonely centre on trails of six miles each way. This splendid American school system seemed there as if searching for any American children of school age, like gravitation going at once for any newly-created particles of matter.

Two or three sample clippings from earlier experiences and memory will serve us as well as a long chapter to show the pioneer schoolhouses of the United States; and the school of the frontier is about the same to-day as it was yesterday, only the frontier is sixteen miles farther west each year.

It was in a hazy, soft, dreamy day in October,

1840, when the writer enjoyed a saddle jaunt in Sangamon and Morgan counties, Illinois. The ride was without a companion, or guide, or even trail, across the prairies. A general point of compass, the sun and one or two headlands of timber running out into the world of grass, were the only aids to direction, — no house, no fence, no furrow, nothing domestic or civil. It was as yet the noblest, most inspiring ride of life. By and by, in one of those timber islands or promontories lying in the great russet ocean of grass, a lazy smoke was seen to go up from among the trees. Of course the inference was a hunter's camp; for deer and turkey and chickens and web-feet were abundant. But finally it proved to arise from a log-cabin, which, on nearer approach, showed neither window nor door, but only a dark vacancy the entire length of one side, as if a log had fallen out. As I came closer, this dark belt showed a row of human faces the whole length, and drawing rein around the corner a door appeared, and a school inside! This door and another "window" on the opposite side, like the one described, admitted all the light. The ground was the floor, into which stakes were driven, and on these slabs were spiked for seats. Some of the pupils, like Antæus, touched mother earth with their feet in their struggle with the Hercules of ignorance, while the little ones swung for it. Books were as scant as the leaves in the last edition of the Sibyl of Cumæ. It was the

typical school of the pioneers, and the best for the times in a frontier county. The families were on openings and clearings back in the timber. Now Sangamon County has its fifty thousand people and a fine school system in the very heart of the nation, and that log schoolhouse would be coveted for the archives of the Illinois Board of Education as a souvenir of early days. And what would seem strange if not foolish to an Eastern man, who had never crossed the Alleghanies, — within a few hours' ride of this log schoolhouse was a college. Many New Englanders who were solicited to aid in founding this Illinois College regarded the enterprise as greatly in advance of population, unneeded and unwise; but the history of this noble, intelligent, and Christian State confirms the wisdom and foresight and statesmanship of its founders. These timid men, slow in their gifts and limited in their travel, cannot appreciate the amplitude of our Western domain and the wonderful growth of settlements in it. Nor do such men consider that Harvard and Dartmouth and Brown and Yale were planted within a very few hours' saddle-ride of log cabins and wigwams.

When Harvard was founded in 1638, and Yale in 1701, and Brown in 1764, and Dartmouth in 1770, the Indians were near to them and abundant, and the frontier was at hand and wild. Nor was it then high tide of immigration and new settlements around them, as around our young West-

ern colleges of to-day. We do not come up yet to the foresight, enthusiasm, benevolence, and sacrifice of the colonial fathers in planting institutions of learning on the borders.

It is obvious why the census of 1860 showed that in Illinois there were fifty-nine thousand persons over ten years of age who could not read and write, and in Missouri sixty thousand, and in Indiana sixty-two thousand. Here is an evil incidental and inevitable to the frontier. The schoolhouse and the meeting-house are apt to move slower than the immigrant army, but they inevitably arrive.

Twenty-four years after we added New Mexico to the Union, and when coming East from the mountains and from under the shadows of Pike's Peak, I left Kit Carson station on the Kansas Pacific and ran south fifty miles over a totally unsettled prairie to Las Animas on the Arkansas. The train was running one car only, loaded with pigs of silver.

What a home missionary a locomotive is in that weird Southwest! It sets the drowsy and laggard Mexican natives to a double-quick, establishes hours and minutes, carries in chairs and ploughs and metal goods generally, builds a wooden house, plants the family, runs a bold line between the mediæval and the modern, whirls up universally the cultivated and sacred dust of ages with its own engine smoke; and with its short sharp whistle,

as it enters this sleepy old town of Montezuma and Coronado and Cortez, it seems to say: *Sit lux, sit lux.*

When we arrived, the railroad had not yet brought in the public spelling-book. Private enterprise, under a lady from Indiana, had gathered forty pupils, of mixed bloods, colors, and costumes, in a rough-board house, long, narrow, and low, and they were entering into the mysteries and powers of the twenty-six English letters and ten Arabic figures, — all which work the priest followed up with warnings and maledictions on schoolhouse heretics.

The first public-school building was then in process of construction, — a novelty to the people and an offence to the clergy, whose traditions and usages and monopolies a Northern schoolhouse was daring to invade. This was almost a generation after that region had become American territory. Nearly a generation had been strangely neglected to grow up un-Americanized, and the private adventurer and the locomotive were the untechnical missionaries to open a way for the common school.

Educational and Christian philanthropy in the United States has some eccentricities, but they "lean to virtue's side." During those twenty-four years we were using widows' mites and the thousands from princely donors to open chapels and free schools in old Mexico and Spain and Italy and

France and Austria, — all of these Christian countries, — while we left our own people, conquered into citizenship, under the low type of mediæval Romanism and Aztec heathenism. It was left for the ranchman and miner and railway builders to lead the way for education and reformed Christianity into that immense Southwest, now under our flag. Perhaps there should be a new proverb, — the farther from home, the better the deed.

It is the purpose to make this chapter on Pioneering in Education a miscellaneous one, which will present, by examples, hard fields and struggles with illiteracy, untoward and heroic beginnings, and gratifying results. No doubt the educational system of the East, especially the common-school system, has made great improvements in the new States, where they have not been constrained to a high conservatism and comfortable satisfaction by gratifying memories that sometimes run into atavism.

No American pioneer has been more daring than a Western college. It comes of an ancestry inured to exposure and poverty and hardship, when pecks of corn, and pewter platters, and Hebrew Bibles were thankfully received by the treasurer at Harvard, and when burnt stumps were suggestive of Indians and bears at Dartmouth. Greek recitations and the war-whoop were almost near enough together to be mingled in our colonial colleges. So now a college of the second or third genera-

tion in the Mississippi Valley, or on the Columbia, as Whitman College at Walla Walla, is neither timid nor retiring among the clearings and cabins and Indians. It comes of a hardy race, whose place, of right and by inheritance, is the frontier. This was our conviction when we saw the crude foundations of Illinois College, one remove only from logs; and the shanty church where Iowa College was born; and the mail-bag, fifteen inches by eight, which carried on the back of man the outside world six miles over marsh and creek and windfall timbers to Oberlin College, as roughly housed as He of the manger. And so we felt when we turned from the charred and still sound timbers of the Mission, which had fallen a prey to the tomahawk and the flames, to visit Whitman College, five miles away.

There is nothing like the bravery, the emigrating passion, and the vitality of letters among progressive Americans. The first cabin and schoolhouse and church and highway and college are usually children of the first family settlers on a good border. Of course college-planting is overdone. Overdoing is always the happy danger of progress. It is a characteristic of unvitiated and vigorous nature to be prodigal of germs, as witness the myriad seeds of one plant, or the thousands of eggs of one salmon. Time, utility, and practical judgment leave the unneeded colleges to disappear, and soon the growing community has only what

it needs. Germs are cheap, and the loss in them is slight compared with the gain that has come in the stimulus of hoping and struggling for a college and finally obtaining one really needed. In the visions of local speculators a proposed railway is an elongated series of depots; but utility and good sense thin them out, and the thrifty community is content.

The term "college" is cheaply printed, and is easily made to cover any institution of literary ambition, but finally abides only where it is worthy. Of many hundreds of those pretentious porticos for scholarly halls, not even the shadows remain, and others yet barely cast a shadow; and, on trial for life or death, donors are an excellent jury. I was once invited to lecture on American History before a "University" on the border. The "University Buildings" showed well on the catalogue, as did the list of the "Faculty," and of the students, repeated for as many "Departments" as they had studies. All this was good for a vision; but for the time being the "University Buildings" were one low lean-to against a small church, with other pretensions reduced to reality in similar proportions. A bundle express wagon could probably have carried off the entire "University," and, indeed, it did move on afterward.

The remark is common in the old States that there are too many colleges in the new country. Two or three facts are not considered in this state-

ment, — the breadth of territory between the Alleghanies and the Pacific; the "colleges" of ambition and pretension and vision, which have died early, but still live in Eastern memories (for the number has been reduced like Gideon's army); the combination of the high school, academy, and college in these institutions; the co-education of the sexes in them; the fair patronage which each living and really established college has, and the long distances between them. They are not close and crowded together as Bowdoin and Dartmouth and Harvard and Brown and Yale and Amherst and Williams, — a splendid constellation of the greater lights. If the objector to their number would attempt to attend a few of their consecutive commencements, on radii from St. Louis or Chicago, he would qualify his remark.

An hour's budding in the nursery will affect the fruit market for the next fifty years more than a week's grafting on old trees. It is well, therefore, to maintain a just and prudential proportion between the benevolent budding of new and marvellously growing cities in the West and the grafting of ancient and perhaps decaying ones in the old East, whether within or beyond the Atlantic. President Quincy, in his "History of Harvard University," says of the founding of that institution: "The poor emigrant, struggling for subsistence, almost houseless, in a manner defenceless, is giving according to his means toward establishing for learn-

ing a resting-place, and for science a fixed habitation, on the borders of the wilderness. . . . No rank, no order of men is unrepresented in this great crusade against ignorance and infidelity."

In his "Travels in New England," Dwight helps us toward a still more apt parallel in founding Western colleges: "Within ten years after the little flock landed at Salem, a college was endowed by them and established;" and it is to be added, that within ten years after the Indian scalping of the pioneer and scattered citizens of the vicinity, Carleton College was crowning the heads of surviving children with the honors of scholarship. Only in our growing West could diplomas crowd so closely on scalping-knives, and benevolent investments show so quick and profitable returns.

Little bands, yet unknown in the opulent East, and as benevolent as opulent, are now quietly drawing their educational lines of latitude and longitude through the wild lands and across the junctions and centres of immigrant trails, wisely presuming that five hundred miles is too far to send sons and daughters to college. When these educational surveyors and picket men for American civilization appear for funds in the East, appealing to our noble men and women who are now having financial success, and whose philanthropy and benevolence and love of country grow apace with their incomes and accumulating legacies, let them be welcomed, even as they are. Let these obscure

pioneers of the Republic go on with their forecastings and outlinings for needed foundations in proper places, and when the due time comes, and they visit the East for funds, they will be welcomed with courtesy. They will see business eyes and ears turned thoughtfully toward their so-called openings and calls of Providence. All Western appeals for aid thus coming and scrutinized, which facts are made to approve, will be heartily met. Such facts are always cashed in the East at sight. If enterprises of the educational and religious and missionary kind weaken in their proper incomes, it is because the facts have not been officially filed and discreetly used in drawing and in backing their calls. Good Western paper for such enterprises is always paid at maturity. If regret or reproach arise that places were not seasonably occupied, and that payments followed sadly behind promises, and that scanty supplies, poor housing, and winter severities cut short the labors and lives of the devoted men and women of God, and that Paul had occasionally to quit preaching for tent-making, the cause must not be sought among the donors. They are able and willing to meet all reasonable wants up to the limits of fairly furnished information. Western Christians are known to surpass the Eastern in their benevolent gifts, in proportion to their ability, because they live among the facts and see them. The same facts will draw funds in the old States just in proportion as they are presented.

The trying results of the infelicitous administration of benevolent work must not be charged to the negligence of contributors who have usually lived up to the light furnished them.

Perhaps a freer use of Western information by the living voice of Western men, and by a prolific press, would save from stringency in benevolent finances and from painful recoveries. For evidently the truly benevolent do not now give according to ability, but up to knowledge only. Many princely donations for letters and religion in the country would doubtless have been bestowed on younger and vastly more needy and hopeful fields, if the donors had been more broadly informed.

That was a noble saying of a most noble man: "There is in no part of the country or of the world so great call for the means of education as in these new States. These are the fields and here is the deep and quick soil for the seeds of knowledge and of virtue, and this is the favored season, the very springtime of sowing them. Let them be disseminated without stint. Let them be scattered with a bountiful hand broadcast." [1]

[1] Webster on Foote's Resolutions, second speech.

CHAPTER X.

LYNCH LAW.

TWO men stood in a saloon in Bannack, Montana, in the winter of 1862–63, disputing whether one of them had paid to the other a certain sum of money. "Jeff assured him that he had settled the debt, and thereupon Jack said, 'Well, if it is settled, it is all right,' but he still continued to refer to it and kept reaching for his pistol. Plummer, who was present, told him that if he did not behave himself he would take him in hand, for that Jeff had settled the debt and that he [Jack Cleveland] ought to be satisfied. Jeff [Perkins] went home for his derringers, and while he was absent, Jack Cleveland boastingly declared that he was afraid of none of them. Plummer jumped to his feet instantly, saying, 'I am tired of this,' and drawing his pistol, he commenced firing at Cleveland. The first ball lodged in the beam overhead, where it still remains [1866]. The second struck him below the belt, and he fell to his knees, grasping wildly at his pistol and exclaiming, 'Plummer, you won't shoot me when I'm down;' to which Plummer replied, 'No, get up;'

and as he staggered to his feet, he shot him a little above the heart. The bullet, however, glanced on the rib and went round the body. The next entered below the eye and lodged in the head. The last missile went between Moore and another man, who was sitting on the bench. . . . Singular enough it must appear to the inhabitants of settled communities, that a man was being shaved in the saloon at the time, and neither he nor the operator left off business. Custom is everything, and fire-eating is demonstrably an acquired habit."

"A Dutchman, known as Dutch Fred, was met by one of the band [of Road Agents], who ordered him to throw up his hands, as usual. Finding he had $5 in treasury notes with him, the robber told him he would take them at par, and added, with a volley of curses, 'If ever you come this way with only five dollars I 'll shoot you. I 'll shoot you anyhow,' and raising his pistol he shot him in the arm."

"In March, 1863, Charley Reeves, a prominent 'clerk of St. Nicholas,' bought a Sheep-Eater squaw; but she refused to live with him, alleging that she was ill-treated, and went back to her tribe, who were encamped on the rise of the hill, south of Yankee Flat, about fifty yards to the rear of the street. Reeves went after her, and sought to force her to come back with him, but on his attempting to use violence, an old chief interfered. The two grappled. Reeves, with a sudden effort, broke from

him, striking him a blow with his pistol, and in the scuffle one barrel was harmlessly discharged. The next evening Moore and Reeves, in a state of intoxication, entered Goodrich's saloon, laying down two double-barrelled shot-guns and four revolvers on the counter. They declared, while drinking, that if the cowardly white folks on Yankee Flat were afraid of the Indians they were not, and that they would soon 'set the ball a-rolling.' Taking their weapons they went off to the back of the house, opposite the camp, and levelling their pieces, they fired into the tepee, wounding one Indian. They returned to the saloon and got three drinks more, boasting of what they had done, and accompanied by William Mitchell of Minnesota, and two others, they went back, determined to complete their murderous work. The three above named then deliberately poured a volley into the tepee, with fatal effect. Mitchell, whose gun was loaded with an ounce ball and a charge of buckshot, killed a Frenchman named Brissette, who had run up to ascertain the cause of the first firing, the ball striking him in the forehead and the buckshot wounding him in ten different places. The Indian chief, a lame Indian boy, and a pappoose were also killed, but the number of the parties who were wounded has never been ascertained. John Burnes escaped with a broken thumb, and a man named Woods was shot in the groin, of which wound he has not yet entirely recovered. This unfortunate

pair, like Brissette, had come to see the cause of the shooting and of the yells of the savages. The murderers being told that they had killed white men, Moore replied, with great *sang froid*, 'They had no business there.'"

"A man had been whipped for larceny near Nevada City [Montana], and to escape the sting of the lash he offered to give information about the Road Agents. Ives heard of it, and meeting him purposely between Virginia and Dempsey's, he deliberately fired at him with his double-barrelled gun. The gun was so badly loaded and the man's coat so thickly padded that the buckshot did not take effect; upon which he coolly drew his revolver, and talking to him all the time, shot him dead. This deed was perpetrated in the broad daylight on a highway, a very Bloomingdale road of the community, in plain view of Daley's and the Cold Spring Ranch, with two or three other teams in sight."

William Palmer found two men in the wakiup and "told them that there was the body of a dead man below, and asked them if they would help him to put the corpse into his wagon, saying that he would take it to town and see if it could be identified. They said, 'No, that is nothing. They kill people in Virginia every day, and there 's nothing said about it, and we want to have nothing to do with it.' The man lay for half a day exposed in the wagon after being brought up to Nevada."

"At the latter end of the month of November, 1863, Oliver's Salt Lake coach, driven by Thomas C. Caldwell, left Virginia for Salt Lake City, carrying as passengers Leroy Southmayde and Captain Moore. There was also a discharged driver named Billy. . . . At about eleven A. M. the travellers overtook the three Road Agents. Each one had his gun lying over his left arm, and they appeared, from behind, like hunters. As the stage came up they wheeled their horses at once and presented their pieces. Bill Graves drew a bead on Tom Caldwell; Ives covered Southmayde; while Bob Zachary, keeping his gun pointed at the coach, watched Captain Moore and Billy. . . . Ives called out, 'Halt! throw up your hands,' and then bade Zachary 'get down and look after those fellows.' . . . Each robber had on a green and blue blanket, covering the body entirely. Whiskey Bill wore a plug hat; his sleeves were rolled up above the elbows; he had a black silk handkerchief over his face, with holes for sight and air, and he rode a gray horse covered from the ears to the tail with a blanket, which, however, left the head and legs exposed to view. George Ives's horse was blanketed in the same way. He himself was masked with a piece of a gray blanket with the necessary perforations. Zachary's horse was blanketed like the others, and his mask was a piece of a Jersey shirt." All the valuables were taken from each

person of the coach. "Having finished his search, Zachary picked up his gun and stepped back. Ives dismissed the 'parade' with the laconic command, 'Get up and skedaddle.'"

It has been thought best to let quoted facts speak for themselves on the topic of this chapter, rather than to present the extraordinary condition of things in summary. The author is fortunate in authentic material.[1] During those anxious and critical times we had also relatives in that country, and some extracts from their letters, written in 1884, here follow.

"My recollection of Professor Dimsdale's book is, that while there may be a little of the look of exaggeration, yet it is about as correct as you could expect to be written in such a country, and in such times as we had in Montana during 1864, 1865, and along in 1866. The action of the Vigilantes was the only means of saving that country from probably the worst outlaws that ever cursed a country. And I think that with the very many executed by order of that organization I never heard of their making a mistake. All deserved hanging. I had a residence and bank at Virginia City, also at Helena. My residence in the Territory dates from the spring of 1864 to the fall of 1866."

[1] The Vigilantes of Montana; or, Popular Justice in the Rocky Mountains. By Thomas J. Dimsdale. Virginia City, Montana, 1866.

Another writes: —

"In regard to the book, 'Vigilantes,' I can vouch for it as being in the main correct. Of course some of the minor items are colored, but the book on the whole is correct. I was there before the book was written up, and knew Professor Dimsdale quite well as editor of the 'Montana Post.' Knew so many who were intimately acquainted with the workings of the Vigilance Committee that I know whereof I speak. . . . I remember as if it were yesterday the last work the Committee did. . . . They gave a butcher thirty-six lashes on the bare back, and banished him, for stealing a hog from a poor widow who lived at Nevada, a small mining camp a mile below Virginia. I saw none of the murdered men the book speaks of, nor did I see any one hung; but I saw several who were hanging, for it was no uncommon thing to see a man hanging to a large pine-tree near the city. For the first year [1863–64] I was near Virginia City. The second year I was near Helena, and on the west side of the main range, making several trips into the British Possessions on the north and into Oregon on the west."

Two round trips to Montana, with business residence there during three years, by a brother of the writer, are sketched quite fully in the "Boston Review," Vols. V. and VI., 1865, 1866, and have

been helpful in the preparation of this chapter. Moreover, now that we are led to prepare this narrative of those wild times, we count it a good fortune and happy memory to have travelled and chatted with one of the original Vigilantes of Montana. It was in a return trip from the West in 1875, when we formed his acquaintance on the Northern Pacific. He carried an unusually heavy hand and muscular arm, with no lack of shoulder to hang and swing it, a huge round head on a short bullock neck, and a mild, winning, immovable face. It is said no one ever saw it disturbed by fear. In a coach not half filled he occupied two double seats turned apart, and he had eased himself by laying two navy revolvers and his belt-knife on the one front of him. It pleased him that I had read of him and had sought an introduction. He was full of experiences and information on rough mountain life, and some of his pictures will always hang in my halls of memory. Looking at him and hearing him talk in his quiet way on desperate and bloody scenes, one would prefer to have him on his side in any little unpleasantness that might spring up. Lynch law has its origin in a state of society such as is here indicated.

The idea of civil, local government is inborn with the American people. When they move off into wild lands with their goods and chattels they may not carry law-books and codes of government, but they carry notions enough, and of the right

kind, about the rights of person, and of property, and of conscience, to set up a government at will. No border society is too crude or emergency too abrupt for these legislators of the frontier. Of course they are months in advance of any civil code, courts, and judicial proceedings, as witness Kentucky when a county of Virginia, or the Northwest Territory, Illinois County, State of Virginia, or a large portion of Montana, when taken in hand by the Vigilantes. The roughs live in the saddle and saloons and dens, monarchs of the waste, and now and then gain office as Plummer, about to be mentioned, where they can pack the court-room and write verdicts.

But such men are only a few to the great body of honorable and orderly frontier men; and the majesty, stability, and broad promise of the American people nowhere show better than when they extemporize a government for the occasion, and surround person and property with the sacred guards of laws by the people. It is not only not from disregard of order and justice, but from reverence and high esteem of these, that they thus defend the public good, while the majesty of statute law and old States' precedents are arriving tardily.

The Montana of those days is sampled by these miscellaneous facts. Men were there as good and true as any in the oldest State in the Union, and their American blood was at a normal pulse. The

feelings and convictions of justice overflowed, but there were no ordered and recognized channels for them. Organic government had not yet crossed the plains and encamped among the miners and stockmen around the heads of the Gallatin and Madison and Jefferson rivers. That murdered body, lying half a day in an open wagon in the streets of Nevada City, hastened the issue, and at ten o'clock of the same night twenty-five men, armed with just purposes and reliable revolvers and shot-guns, left Nevada silently for some shanties in the hills beyond, where the body was found. In the gray of the icy morning they make a "surround" of a wakiup outside of which eight or ten men lie wrapped in blankets. The leader of the troop dismounts with a shout, "The first man that raises will get a quart of buckshot in him." It was not much overstated, for twenty-five double-barrelled guns were levelled on the group. The leader hastened to the door of the shanty, and the following colloquy ensued: "Is Long John here?" — "Yes." "Come out here; I want you." — "Well, I guess I know what you want me for." "Probably you do; but hurry up: we have got no time to lose."—"Well, wait till I get my moccasins on, won't you?" "Be quick about it, then." Four shot-guns and some revolvers took him under guard. The conversation was more impressive than abundant. "Long John, you had better prepare for another world."

The leader entered again the wakiup, and in the yet deep haze of the morning touched a blanketed fellow, with the question, "Is your name George Ives?" — "Yes." "I want you." — "What do you want me for?" "To go to Virginia City." — "All right; I expect I have to go." Then the shanty was explored. Five men were sent into the wakiup, and the rest stood round it. The result of their search was the capture of several dragoon and navy revolvers, nine shot-guns, and thirteen rifles.

The mixed party started for Nevada City, picking up several more suspected road agents on the way. The arrival was in the evening of December 18, 1863. The exciting news went almost as by telephone through all the wild region, and there was a general stampede to Nevada. "The forenoon of the 19th saw the still swelling tide of miners, merchants, and artisans winding their way to Nevada. All the morning was spent in private examinations of the prisoners, and private consultations as to the best method of trial. . . . Little boys were at play in the streets, and fifteen hundred men stood in them, impatient for action, but waiting without a murmur, in order that everything might be done decently and in order."

It was decided that the trial should be by the people, and therefore they agreed on a judge, prosecuting and defending counsel, and twenty-four jurors, — the power of revision of verdict being retained by the people, — mainly miners.

The trial opened on the 21st, in the morning, and was closed in the deepening dusk of the evening of the same day, by a verdict against the prisoners of twenty-three to one. It was conducted under the open sky; the judge and counsel occupied a wagon; the encircling crowd were kept back by well-armed and brawny men, and a huge mountaineers' fire occupied the centre. A light log-chain, with padlocks, made the three prisoners fast to each other; while in the eager, pressing, and swaying crowd there were friends and foes, no one yet knew how divided in strength. This was certain: among them were bandits, desperadoes, and murderers, of terrible energy, with feelings and anxieties intensified by the conviction that they might any time wear those chains if the prisoners were executed.

It was generally expected that a bloody rush would be sprung, to rescue the accused. All faces wore purposes, and none more so than the officials, each of whom, as well as every condemning witness, felt that his life would hang lightly about him after the trial if the halter should be cheated out of its due. As the day waned, and darkness and excitement deepened together, and the crumbling brands of the camp-fire flashed a wild light over the encircling crowd, it was a scene for a painter. The sketch of it would hang worthily in English and American halls, among historic paintings which show when civil rights and

regulated liberty took yet another good step forward.

The verdict was adopted by the people with only a slight dissent, when it was expected by some that further proceedings would be adjourned till daylight. But that would have been too critical for justice. Then appeared one of those heroic men and acts, born of occasions and to meet emergencies. Colonel Sanders mounted the wagon, and, reciting the accusations, evidence, and verdict of the people, moved "That George Ives be forthwith hung by the neck until he is dead." To this the people agreed. Time was given for making a will and little gifts and prayers, and for dictating letters. A business air pervaded the mixed multitude, and movements, indicating a rush and a rescue, were soon quieted by the glint from the camp-fire, as it fell on guns and revolvers brought to bear; and the deadly "click, click" of the hammers brought to place quieted all murmurs.

Not far away from where George Ives sat in trial was an unfinished house, with sides, but no roof. The preparations for hanging there were simple, ample, and brief. "The butt of a forty-foot pole was planted inside the house, at the foot of one of the walls, and the stick leaned outward over a cross-beam. Near the point was tied the fatal cord, with the open noose." Outside and underneath this rope's end of justice was placed a dry-goods box. Hands, carrying as many coats of

blood as an old colonial house of to-day does paint, were pinioned. One man was executed by the Vigilantes who had killed his twelve. In fifty-eight minutes from the time his doom was fixed, that Rocky Mountain outlaw was placed on the box, and the noose answered the ends of justice instantly. Two others followed George Ives.

The crisis was passed, though neither party knew it. "All the prominent friends of justice were dogged, threatened, and watched by the roughs." Right and wrong stood in defiant but as yet unorganized opposition, and each man on either side carried his assumed rights on the trigger of his revolver. This was a delicate state of things, when every bandit had made himself an expert shot. Plummer, the leader of the outlaws, was credited with an ability to draw and deliver five shots in three seconds.

Only the simpler forms of government had yet arrived in the mining-camps and ranches. It had only the goodly appearance, and outside, like armor on a skeleton. Some offices were filled, and yet often by the outlaws themselves. This Plummer was sheriff of the county, — Beaver Head, — and so added the power of legal place to work his schemes of violence and robbery and murder. The feelings of equity and justice ran high, but had no channels, and common sense came to the rescue, not waiting for red tape.

"Five men in Virginia City and one in Nevada City commenced simultaneously to take the initiative in the matter. Two days had not elapsed before their efforts were united, and when once a beginning had been made, the ramifications of the league of safety and order extended, in a week or two, all over the Territory, and on the 14th of January, 1864, the *coup de grace* was given to the power of the band by the execution of five of the chief villains in Virginia City. . . . Merchants, miners, mechanics, and professional men alike joined in the movement, . . . which upon the whole, it must be admitted, has from the first acted with a wisdom, a justice, and a vigor never surpassed on this continent, and rarely, if ever, equalled." Progress was made in organization, and the mixed and massed populace around that great camp-fire gave place to selected and organized men. They possessed intelligence, honor, coolness of head, and energy. The Vigilantes of Montana were originally twenty-four such men, volunteers, and approved of the body of fair citizens. They were detectives, police, a court of inquiry and of trial and of execution. "They carried generally a pair of revolvers, a rifle and shot-gun, blankets, and some rope. Spirits were forbidden to be used." They followed these outlaws through the camps, hunted them in the wakiups, and passed over mountains and valleys, sometimes for hundreds of miles, and for months continuous. In

all cases possible, arrests were made without assault, as in the States, and the prisoners were taken to populous centres for trial. Witnesses were gathered for and against, the accused having his own when reasonably demanded. "The evidence not being conclusive, they were released, though their guilt was morally certain. The Vigilantes rigidly abstained, in all cases, from inflicting the penalty due to crime, without entirely satisfactory evidence of guilt."

After trial had and verdict rendered, by this extempore government of this frontier belt of civilization, the finality of justice was reached with great expedition. A convenient limb, a rope, ten or a score of honorable, earnest men, a camp-stool, box, barrel, or plank, easily jerked from under, and the work was done. The simplicity and facility of the terrible process, with its speed, corresponded to the American border life of those regions and times. All this appeared fitting, as in the case of Dutch John, who "travelled with a rifle in his hand, a heart of stone, a will of iron, and the frame of a Hercules."

Three men — Plummer, the head of the bandits of Montana, Buck Stinson, and Ned Ray — were tried and sentenced while at large, and were captured in the night, when about to flee the country. Their execution followed immediately. In the suburbs of Bannack stood a gallows, which Plummer, as sheriff, had prepared for another man. Toward it

the Vigilantes moved with a business tread, guarding in escort the three doomed men, while a miscellaneous crowd fell in. The lanterns glanced their light from the guns, which were carried for a sudden aim, and with fatal readiness, as when one is shooting on the wing. The spectators were halted by the guard at a safe distance, one rope was thrown over the beam, and the order went out into the still night air, "Bring up Ned Ray;" and the desperado was swung up, with curses on his lips. Stinson followed his companion in crimes. Then the call, "Bring up Plummer." This "perfect gentleman," as his friends affected to call him, pleaded delay, with the request, "Give a man time to pray." The leader responded, "Certainly; but let him say his prayers up here." It was rapidly over, and the intense cold soon held the three bodies in a freezing embrace, and the "Reign of Terror" in Bannack was ended. Groans and cursings and wailings broke the stillness, as an infamous woman, the mistress of Ned Ray, pressed through the crowd toward the gallows.

Sometimes, though very seldom, judicial punishment degenerated, among the outsiders, into vengeance and mobbing, as when the Mexican, Pizanthia, was executed. He was famed as a desperado, robber, and murderer. His hut was a half excavation in the hillside, in which he resisted arrest, killing one of the Vigilantes and wounding another. Some former soldiers of the army brought

an old howitzer to bear, and what with it and small arms, the cabin was riddled and then stormed. Enough life was found in the outlaw to hang him, and then the mob burnt the hut. "In the morning some miserable women actually panned out the ashes to see whether the desperado had any gold."

These rough and radical measures to insure the enjoyment of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness in Montana, ran on with increasing vigor and success, and with decreasing need, down into 1865. When these stern processes of irregular justice were introduced, there had been more than one hundred violent and well-discovered deaths, to say nothing of undiscovered murders of missing men, and of minor yet high-handed acts of outlawry and crime. From what is well known of border life to-day, it is safe to affirm that the undiscovered deaths by violence were as four to one of the discovered. These inroads of blood and brigandage were arrested by the summary execution of twenty-four outlaws within one year from the hanging of George Ives, Dec. 21, 1863.

These processes of justice, so fearfully direct between a community and its enemies, had a much shorter career in Montana than in California, because the former had before them the experiences of the latter. The Vigilance Committee of San Francisco had two administrations, or one might

say that there were two committees, — the one of 1851 and the other of 1856, — while the latter was almost the reinauguration of the former. A brief statement of the origin, methods, and doings of the Vigilantes of San Francisco will not only give, in caption, one of the most exciting, romantic, and tragic chapters in our frontier history, but it will show, by sample, the material of much of our border life to-day, and how we are working it up into a civil and safe and honorable society. The best as well as the briefest statement of Lynch law in California, in its youngest American days, can be made in a few passages.

The original Vigilance Committee of San Francisco organized in 1851. As to the period of two years preceding: "It was the free-and-easy age when everybody was flush, and fortune, if not in the palm, was only just beyond the grasp of all. Men lived chiefly in tents, or in cabins scarcely more durable, and behaved themselves like a generation of bachelors. The family was beyond the mountains; the restraints of society had not yet arrived. . . . More rollicked in a perfect freedom from those bonds which good men cheerfully assume in settled society for the good of the greater number. . . . This heterogeneous mixture of men were either without law, or were the makers and executors of their own law. . . . As to civil law, the country was utterly at sea. It had a governor in the person of the commandant of the military

district it belonged to, but no government. . . . The fame of the gold placers had tempted a rush of all sorts of men, and it must be confessed that for a while it seemed that the doubtful and dangerous classes were in excess over the orderly. The lightest drift of the floating population of the world washed up here, — not only the restless characters of Christendom, but of heathen countries also. . . . The gamblers of the world met here; the foremost of that desperate and wretched class swarmed to San Francisco like vultures to the carcass. . . . The absence of municipal law, or the neglect of its officers, left them without restraint to indulge their career. . . . The 'El Dorado,' while a tent fifteen by twenty-five feet on the ground, rented for forty thousand dollars a year to gamblers. . . . A great deal of trouble was caused by the desperate, reckless villains who flocked to the city from all parts of the world." [1]

So far Tuthill speaks of the material in the population of San Francisco, then fifty thousand, which seemed to demand the extraordinary measures of government under the first Vigilance Committee of 1851. Of this condition of things, and of the necessity for a new régime, another historian thus writes: "The pioneers saw nearly the whole business part of the city swept away by several great conflagrations. They saw the Sydney convicts

[1] The History of California. By Franklin Tuthill. 1866. pp. 244, 245, 246, 326, 337, 380.

threaten to become masters of the place in 1851."[1] The same author quotes the report of a grand jury of the county, to the same end, which was made after the Committee had executed two persons: "When we recall the delays, and the inefficient and we believe that with truth it may be said the corrupt administration of the law, the incapacity and indifference of those who are its sworn guardians and ministers, the frequent and unnecessary postponement of important trials in the district court, the disregard of duty, and impatience while attending to perform it, manifested by some of our judges having criminal jurisdiction, the many notorious villains who have gone unwhipped of justice, — we are led to believe that the members of the Association have been governed by a feeling of opposition to the manner in which the law has been administered and those who have administered it, rather than a determination to disregard the law itself, . . . when all other means of preventing crime and bringing criminals to direct punishment had failed."[2]

Of the organization of the committee our authors proceed to say: "Many of the best citizens formed themselves into a Committee of Vigilance, and because the courts could not, or would not, punish crime, undertook themselves to administer

[1] A History of the City of San Francisco. By John S. Hittell. 1878. p. 7.

[2] Hittell, p. 176.

justice."[1] "Without law, there was an unwritten law taken for granted, that dealt justice to rich and poor alike with rigid exactness."[2]

"Though grave crimes had been committed in large numbers, none of the offenders had been punished. The police were inefficient if not criminal, and the judges and prosecuting attorneys showed no zeal in their business. The people saw that if they wanted an effective administration of justice, they must take charge of it themselves, and accordingly about three thousand citizens gathered at the City Hall to take decisive action."[3]

"England had been banishing her convicts and dangerous classes to Australia, whence they reshipped direct for San Francisco. Many of these, to the number of fifty probably, were detected by the Committee before landing, and with return passage money paid for them, they were sent back to their British Botany Bay."[4]

The main work of the Committee of 1851 was to banish desperadoes, outlaws, and rascals. The five great fires in the city, destroying about sixteen millions' worth of property within eighteen months, were presumed to have originated with them, of whom scores were exiled under severe penalty of return. This Committee executed but few men, and, as has been intimated, after a brief and vigorous life it went into a state of suspended anima-

[1] Tuthill, p. 380.
[2] Hittell, p. 338.
[3] Tuthill, p. 172.
[4] Hittell, p. 177, 178.

tion rather than of extinction. Indeed, in the mines it never ceased to be vigilant and executive. When robbery and violence there were committed, "they rallied from all the camps about, to hunt the culprit, and when found, to try him, Judge Lynch presiding. The jury were intolerant of long trials. The examinations were sharp and brief, the questions apt to be leading. When the jury found a verdict of guilty, the miserable prisoner was run up by the neck to a limb of the nearest tree. The very swiftness of justice saved her from being called into frequent requisition." [1]

It is easy to tell the causes which led to the organization and doings of the Vigilance Committee of 1856. "About the meanest class that cursed the community was a brood of unprincipled, labor-hating, professional politicians, who gathered from all corners of the States, fetching with them the worst vices peculiar to the political system of the locality they had relieved by leaving." This class Hittell tersely describes in his Preface: "The political ruffians obtained a powerful influence in the municipal government in 1856." Tuthill goes on to say: "The dregs of society, swindlers, thieves, and gamblers, dictated to the party dictators, and ruled the State with a tyranny that conventions dare not meddle with. . . . The better classes had despised politics, and the worst classes picked up the reins and were driving fast to ruin.

[1] Tuthill, p. 339.

The judiciary fell into disrepute. The course of regular justice was obstructed. Criminals enjoyed an alarming immunity from punishment. Violence ruled in city and country. . . . There was no assurance that conviction would follow arrest, no matter how many witnesses. . . . The State-prison at San Quentin was a sieve. In December, 1854, thirty convicts escaped from it on the same day. . . . There were bad men in office, who had things very much their own way; corrupt judges, who fingered bribes, as the public believed; sheriffs and constables and jailers, to whom detected criminals ran for refuge." [1]

The time was, of course, hastening when that would occur which Tuthill had said might justly occur: "When the enacted laws failed of execution, it was the people's right to resume the power that they had delegated, or which had been usurped." [2]

We have elsewhere stated that the first code of laws drafted, published, and executed in the Northwest Territory, at Marietta, was by a mass meeting, and therefore a code of Lynch law. The first job of printing ever executed in that imperial Territory was its first body of laws. They were irregularly and informally passed, and never approved by Congress, yet had force, but not legality, till a constitutional code was adopted. The Lynch

[1] Tuthill, pp. 339, 426, 427, 429, 430.
[2] Tuthill, p. 460.

law code preceded in both the necessity and the equity of the case.

These historical passages are philosophical also, and convey hints as well as facts. When the law's delays and prearranged weaknesses and failures are lessening confidence in the government, it is inevitable that the American people at least should irregularly and more or less covertly array themselves against it. For with them the notion of government is inborn and divine, and what many incline to call abnormal is fundamentally normal with intelligent Americans, since demand and reverence for law lead them to disregard lifeless and skeleton law. While questions of equity can be hung up for decades of years, and moved along on serial hooks of the law, in the old settlements of the East, till the original parties have gone up to the final court, a growing American town on the border becomes impatient. When the English language is almost exhausted in the structure of legal technicalities, till there is an infinite swamp of refuge, as for a hunted wolf, and the eminent lawyer flees to it with his client, it must not seem strange if an injured and neglected community waylay the fugitive criminal in the "open" before he gains cover.

When, in one of these wild counties of six months' growth men go to the witness stand and jury box and bench, who should have gone behind the bars or to the gallows, and all that they may

let criminals go by with a password and for a consideration, men, good and true, who cannot stop to be politicians and court managers, must be expected to do something abruptly. And when the pardoning power is debased to the veto of equity and justice, and wild animals are uncaged, as if one should meddle with a menagerie, men of order must be expected to become disorderly in a methodical and most patriotic way.

An occasion for a people's court offered in May, 1856, when James King was shot for some severe editorial reflections in his paper on James P. Casey. The latter retaliated with his revolver for the political and personal attack, and his victim died in six days. On the evening of the shooting, the Vigilance Committee of 1851 convened. The press generally advocated a vigorous and executive course by the people, and within thirty hours of the assault twenty-five hundred names were enrolled on the books of a Vigilance Committee, "who pledged themselves to work together for the purging of the city of its late ruling classes, — the gamblers, ballot-box stuffers, jury-packers, foreign convicts, swindlers, thieves high and low, and of villains generally. Hundreds were waiting their turn, all day, to register themselves."[1] The Committee took prominent and ample headquarters, cleared the streets for two blocks, mounted six brass pieces, placed swivels loaded with grape on the roof, and

[1] Tuthill, p. 438.

put the streets under the control of three hundred rifles and muskets. Small arms were gathered abundantly inside, and all spirituous liquors were excluded. The headquarters were at the same time an armory, a drill-room, a court-room, a guard-house, a fort, and a secure prison, with expenses at about five hundred dollars a day. A huge triangle swung on the roof, and its sounds could call thousands instantly, on an emergency. Draymen stopped in the street, freed their horses, mounted, and went clattering to the rendezvous. Storekeepers locked up hastily and ran. Clerks leaped over their counters; carpenters left the shaving in the plane; blacksmiths dropped the hammer by the red-hot iron on the anvil. All the city hurried to headquarters for any sudden work. An immense mass-meeting stimulated and concentrated the purposes for reform. One voting district of thirty legal voters was named as returning five hundred votes; three precincts of three hundred voters had returned fifteen hundred. One speaker said "that probably more than five hundred murders had been committed in California during the preceding year, yet not more than five of the perpetrators had been punished according to the forms of the law." When the Committee had been in action only two weeks, "the newspapers almost unanimously, the clergy with astonishing boldness, the people, apparently for the time as one man, approved the formation

of the Committee. . . . Three fourths of all the people of the State sympathized with and indorsed their efforts at reform." [1]

As to the methods of administration under this code of emergency, it is high commendation of a mixed populace of American citizens, outraged in sight of the halls of formal justice, and even within them, and intensely aroused by their wrongs, that they carried unlawful weapons and equity with such an even hand. The first great trial — that of Casey for shooting King — came off on the day following King's death.

"No person was present at the trial save the accused, members of the Vigilance Committee, and witnesses. The testimony was given under oath, though there was no lawful authority for its administration. Hearsay testimony was excluded; the general rules of evidence observed in the courts were adopted; the accused heard all the witnesses, cross-examined those against him, summoned such as he wanted in his favor, had an attorney to assist him, and was permitted to make an argument by himself or his attorney in his own defence. . . . The Executive Committee were careful to take no evidence except that which would be received in the courts, and to execute no prisoner unless he had committed a crime punishable with death under the law of California. . . . The Vigilance organization did not interfere in any way with the

[1] Tuthill, pp. 451, 460, 467, 476.

ordinary business of the courts and the police. The district courts sat every day to try suits involving the rights of property, and the criminal courts sentenced offenders for theft, assault, and drunkenness, as in ordinary times. The city was far more orderly than ever before or since." [1]

The very formidable police and military and judicial manifestation of the Committee no doubt did much to make punishment unnecessary. The renegade and variously corrupt mass was overawed and restrained by so imposing a tribunal. Only four persons were executed by the Committee of 1856. Those who were noted for minor crimes, and especially those who corrupted government and equity at their very fountains by stuffing the ballot-box, were banished, and usually to the places whence they came, as Sydney and other Australian ports.

This off-hand and inexpensive administration of justice by banishment had a pleasing illustration for us at the great Indian Fair at Muskogee, in September, 1880. It was a remarkably orderly gathering of about twenty-five hundred persons, mostly Indians, and wholly under Indian management. Some white roughs had come down from Arkansas to breed riot and crime. When certain overt acts had come to light, the Indian detectives and sheriff took these men back to the railway station, and as the Texan cars returned, going

[1] Hittell, pp. 250, 252, 253.

north, they were put on board, ticketed home to Arkansas. This Indian copying of the white man's civilization quite interested and encouraged us as to the future of the Red man.

The testimony of an observer, at the time on the ground in San Francisco, is pertinent here: "In the administration of California Lynch law, so far as I have known or heard, the thunderbolt of public fury has always fallen only on the head of the guilty man who, by the enormity and palpable character of his crimes, excited it; and then not till after his guilt was proved to the satisfaction of the masses composing the court. . . . In proportion as the law acquires power in California for the protection of the citizens, in that proportion Lynch law is dispensed with." [1]

After about three months of anxious, perilous, and expensive labors, the Committee accomplished the work which they undertook. In the interests of justice and order they had defied the empty and mocking forms of law, until they could refill them with life and normal activity, and so make them a terror to evil-doers. This was now done, and they prepared to lay down the amazing power which they had so daringly and heroically seized. Their august opening was half the battle for right, and they planned a magnificent closing, that they might perpetuate a wholesome fear in the memories of

[1] California Life Illustrated. By William Taylor. 1858. pp. 296, 299.

all bad citizens. At the same time the impression was left on the community that the organization went into suspense rather than dissolution, and could reappear on the alarm-tolling of an ominous bell.

"Under the influence of such considerations [finished work] the Executive Committee, with the approval of the board of delegates, adopted a resolution to disband the forces. On the 18th of August [1856] the city took a general holiday, to witness the celebration of the disbanding of the Vigilance Committee, and thousands came from interior towns to see the men who had defied the law for three months in the interest of justice and honesty. The streets were bright with flags and flowers; the sidewalks were lined with ladies in brilliant dresses along the line adopted by the procession, or rather the army, which contained five thousand one hundred and thirty-seven men, including three artillery companies, with eighteen pieces of cannon, twenty-nine members of the Executive Committee, two hundred and ninety dragoons, forty-nine surgeons and physicians, one hundred and fifty members of the Committee of Vigilance of 1851, vigilant police, hundreds of citizens on horseback, thirty-three companies of the vigilant infantry, and numerous military bands. The troops were reviewed, and a farewell address was published by the Executive Committee, congratulating the general committee and the com-

munity on the valuable services rendered, and promising that the organization should be revived if it were necessary to protect its members against violence or malicious prosecution on account of the action of the Committee, or to guard the purity of the ballot-box. It was never formally dissolved."[1]

Such a force, unorganized, is always at hand on our wild border, and is more operative than is generally supposed. As the frequent failures of the law and the court are only now and then made public, and to a limited extent at the best, in wild border counties as large as an Eastern State, so these prompt trials and inevitable executions of judgments by extemporized courts are not widely published. Occasionally a case gains the notoriety of print, and thus the impression is left by the solitariness of published accounts that they are rare. One needs only to make Lynch law the topic, and then listen in cabin or tent on the border, to be satisfied of the frequency of these summary proceedings. We were once enjoying camp-fire and log-cabin life for a month under the perpetual snow-peaks of the Rocky Mountains, among men who had ranged from the Mexican border to British Columbia. They had been trappers and Indian traders, ranch-men and miners. At a single evening camp-fire, in their details of personal incidents, twenty-seven cases of lynching were

[1] Hittell, pp. 259, 260.

mentioned in which they had been either actors or spectators. The executions were scattered through Arizona, Kansas, Colorado, and Missouri, and between 1870 and 1880. When returning from Puget Sound over the Northern Pacific not long since, the author met at Medora the sanitary government inspector of cattle for that region. When the hope was expressed that there is less violence now in maintaining order in the Rocky Mountain region than there was in the days of the Vigilantes, he replied that in 1884 twenty-five horse-thieves were believed to have been lynched in Montana.

It surprises some that the horse-thief, so called, should so lead off in the number of lynched men, when his crime is presumed to be a question of property of one or two hundred dollars. The term "horse-thief" is really generic, or a synonym for a great variety of criminals. He is the thief of any movable property, a highwayman, a bandit, a murderer, at his convenience, defiant of government, an outlaw, and the enemy, specific and in general, of society. The execution of a horse-thief, therefore, is ordinarily the administration of justice in gross, and not in severalty of crimes.

This is to be said, — that lynching in the Territories and new States comes in where the law is crude and feeble. Where the court-house appears in due dignity and power, Lynch law disappears in the

shadow, and will come from rear to front on any well-grounded call. Americans understand, as no other people, that liberty and equity cannot be lost in the inoperative framework of law. They are perpetual, the law is temporary; they are the freight, the law is only the carriage: and sometimes, as in the days of old Israel in their emigrant and tent era, the ark of the covenant, the main thing, will be set forward on a new cart, while the old one becomes a bonfire. Lynch law, commonly in the old East thought of opprobriously, is usually enforced on the frontier practically and patriotically, and from a high esteem for law. The abnormal or rather the nascent condition of society in a Territory or very new State makes this law sometimes a necessity, and therefore normal. The personals of life and movable properties emigrate and take orderly and rightful place in new homes faster than statutes; and clusters of families are often in advance of district and municipal and circuit courts. The Marietta Colony arrived on the Muskingum in the spring; but Governor St. Clair and the territorial code of laws did not arrive till midsummer. Meantime the colony extemporized and executed a code. These notions of personal rights are innate, and as truly adhere to the man and go with him as his limbs or life. Out of them comes the municipal and civil state, under the titles of society, government, and statutes. They arrive in the settlement in the form of Blackstone or a law

library, and take civil shape and associate power after the immigrant and his neighbors have arrived. In that transition and formation and growing time between the recent and isolated settlers and the organized, well-compacted, and well-running society, rights will be few, and will demand protection under extempore government, and of home manufacture. Like so much else around the cabins and tents, the civil must be crude, as well as the mechanical and domestic and architectural; and when debased, barbarous, and bloody men strike out defiantly for a low animal communism, they are the law-abiding men, in the non-arrival as yet of Roman or English or New England laws, who soonest find the outlaw and visit penalty. Our border government from colonial times has been of this kind, and of necessity, and therefore reasonably.

We have seen that the Ohio Company extemporized a people's code of laws and a court, while in waiting for what had been established but had not arrived; nor were they hasty in forming an extempore government, on the theory of the primitive settlers in Oregon, who petitioned their first Legislative Committee to build a jail, when as yet they had no convicts, saying, "We are assured that it is better to have the building standing without a tenant, than a tenant without the building." [1]

[1] A History of Oregon. By W. H. Gray. p. 382. The Ohio Company soon saw the wisdom of the policy of anticipation.

"It was not long before a complaint was made against Paddy Grimes for robbing a truck-patch, on which the sheriff was commanded to arrest him and summon a jury for his trial. The order was obeyed; and on hearing the evidence, the jury found him guilty, and he was sentenced to receive twenty-nine lashes, which were inflicted in due form on the same afternoon." [1] Though the crime and the punishment did not rise to any high grade of dignity, as when the five outlaws fired into the tepee at Bannack, killing three Indians and a Frenchman, and when Plummer, Ray, and Stinson were hung in the same city for sundry robberies and murders, the proceedings were the same in kind and in principle, and moreover by men not yet a year out of conservative New England. Sometimes the aggravations were great and the necessities imperious to take summary process and redress wrongs promptly. In 1790 Judge Innes wrote to the Secretary of War that within the last seven years "he could venture to say that more than fifteen hundred persons had been killed and taken prisoners by the Indians, and that upward of twenty thousand horses had been taken and carried off with other property. . . . The tardy movements of the General Government were criticised with great severity; and men of influence on the frontier were deliberating on the expediency of taking their protection into their own hands. . . .

[1] Burnett's Notes on the Northwest Territory, p. 57.

He assured the War Department that volunteer expeditions would be carried into the Indian country, as well for the purpose of revenge as for protection and self-preservation; . . . that they have long groaned under their misfortunes and see no prospect of relief." [1]

Kentucky antedates California seventy-six years in the same principles and policy of a government by the people and for the people. On the 23d of May, 1775, Daniel Boone and his sixteen associates, acting for the four cabin settlements of hunters and frontier families, met under a great elm, where now Boonesborough stands. Prayers were offered, and then the business of the people's Convention, to frame and ordain the first civil laws for Kentucky, was formally opened. Colonel Henderson said: "You are assembled for a noble purpose. . . . As justice is and must be eternally the same, so your laws, founded in wisdom, will gather strength by time. . . . If any doubt remain amongst you with respect to the force or efficacy of whatever laws you now or hereafter make, be pleased to consider that all power is originally in the people."

A few days afterward the same thing was said at Bunker Hill. "We represent the good people of this infant country," responded the Convention. Between their sessions the Sabbath intervened, and they converted their council-chamber, the great elm, into a church and worshipped.

[1] Burnett's Notes on the Northwest Territory, pp. 90–92.

"They shook the depths of the desert's gloom
With their hymns of lofty cheer."

"Thus began the Commonwealth of Kentucky."[1]

Our constantly emigrating border, extending from the British to the Mexican boundaries, has been marked every year by *pro tempore* legislation, when the leaders of the young communities felt it necessary to energize the existing laws, or open new channels for the popular will, or put a sudden hand on outlawry.

Bancroft well states the fact and sentiment for the United States, when referring to the daring resistance which Captain Wadsworth successfully offered to the encroachments of the Crown on the liberties of the young Colony of Hartford in 1693, then a frontier town: "It is the fortune of our America, that if in any moment the happiness of the State depended on the will of one man, that man was true to his duty."[2]

To recur once more to Judge Burnett and his court sessions in those territorial days of Ohio, he says that the seats of justice "were at that time separated from each other by extensive tracts of uninhabited wilderness stretching from one hundred and fifty to two hundred miles, without roads, bridges, or fences."[3] Between these distant cen-

[1] Bancroft's History of the United States, vol. vii. pp. 367–369; Collins's Kentucky, vol. ii. p. 508; Shaler's Kentucky, pp. 68–70.

[2] History of the United States, vol. iii. pp. 67, 68.

[3] Notes on the Northwest Territory, p. 65.

tres of justice, and in the long lapses of time between the sessions of the court, either in the early Northwest Territory, or in Montana, or, as we found it, in Wyoming, equity in self-protection must sometimes work inorganically, while the letter of the law is impatiently waited for, over roads and bridges and ferries yet to be built.

What Monette says, covering our border lands in the Mississippi Valley, between 1770 and 1810, has been true ever since of our frontier settlements, and will continue so till our frontier is exhausted: "Although the pioneers in the West were a hardy, enterprising, honest race of men, yet the frontier settlements are often a retreat for loose and unprincipled individuals from the old settlements, who, if not familiar with crime, have very blunt perceptions of virtue. The genuine pioneer, the woodsman, is independent, brave, and upright; but, as the jackal follows in the footsteps of the lion, so the sturdy hunter is followed by the miscreant destitute of noble qualities, — men who are the pests of the human race, averse to labor, impatient of the wholesome restraints of law or the courtesies of civilized life. Some, indeed, are desperadoes flying from justice, to escape the grasp of the law in older settlements; and in the frontier settlements he bids the civil law defiance. For such intruders the frontiers had a law of their own, a *lex loci*, known as Lynch law, which seldom failed to purge the community of his

unwelcome presence. Its operation was often indispensable when a horse-thief, a counterfeiter, or other desperate vagabond infested the neighborhood, evading justice by cunning, or by a strong audacious arm, or by the number of his confederates. The citizens formed themselves into a regulating party, commonly known as 'regulators,' a kind of holy brotherhood whose duty required them to purge the neighborhood of such unruly members. Mounted, armed, and commanded by a leader, they proceeded to arrest the object of their mission."[1] After fair trial, punishment followed immediately, and fitting to the crime.

Two considerations must be entertained in making a fair judgment of this method of border government. In our theory of governing, the power to make and execute law inheres in the people; and in the novel growth of our settlements into new country, government arrives after the people arrive, — or rather, is started by them as all other local interests are started, and for that locality, and for those conditions, *de novo*. Precedents can be found only for civil proceedings of the most general kind.

For illustration, here is Leadville, as we found it in 1880, two years old, with twelve thousand inhabitants. Of different nationalities and from every State in the Union; unknown to each other;

[1] Monette's History of the Mississippi Valley. 1846. Vol. ii. pp. 16, 17.

adventurers, many of them most honorable, with a large proportion of the desperate and degraded and criminal of both sexes; under the high pressure of a ruining excitement, which is the highest known to any lawful calling; every day twenty-four hours of work, old-fashioned sunrise and sunset "played out," as was remarked to me there; drinking and gambling saloons crowded by day, with debauching, underground, and systematized "hells" by night; and an average of two violent deaths a week for the last thirty weeks, and no single conviction and execution for manslaughter, as one of the police informed us, — what precedents are there for governing such a city? Its age, size, quality of citizenship, and business ardor are without parallel, except in the mining districts of the United States.

The extempore handling of the best interests of a mining camp or rushing town of a few years' growth by honorable and orderly men, must not be judged by the traditional and conservative and grooved system of one of the old thirteen States. The true men of the place will show themselves to be the men for the times, and they will discover that methods of relief are twin-born with emergencies.

When sheriff or judge or a part of the jurymen, each or all, may be known to be in league with the accused, it must not seem strange if primitive rights assert themselves to expedite things, and

equity ignores conventional forms and comes to the front suddenly with a stride. Where coon and beaver and coyote skins have taken the place of the ermine, other variations may be expected, and must be tolerated on the bench.

The relief, and the promise for an orderly, prosperous, yet at the same time intensely earnest future were already in Leadville in germ. The usual churches, feeble, devout, and energetic, were starting. Sabbath, mission, and day schools, all under the stimulus and patronage of these churches, were founded, and the Young Men's Christian Association also. Nobler bands of workers for Church and State it would be difficult to find in our oldest cities. It seemed as if Lynch law must come in to rule the city the coming winter, when the wild storms should drive the miners down from the mountains and out of the cañons, and pack the saloons and dens of the place. These moral and educating forces met the emergency, and a Lynch court, so much to be dreaded, yet sometimes needed, was not found necessary, and was not held. The crisis was passed without rope or banishment. These same forces, educational and social and moral and Christian, are the last reliance, and the only real power to hold barbarism in check and lead civilization to the frontier.

CHAPTER XI.

EASTERN JEALOUSY AND NEGLECT OF THE WEST.

WASHINGTON made eight tours into the West. After returning from the seventh to the headquarters of the army at Newburgh, where it was quietly awaiting the conclusion of the negotiations for peace, he thus wrote to the Chevalier de Chastellux, Oct. 12, 1783: "Prompted by these actual observations, I could not help taking a more extensive view of the vast inland navigation of these United States from maps and the information of others; and could not but be struck with the immense extent and importance of it, and with the goodness of that Providence which has dealt its favors to us with so profuse a hand. Would to God we may have wisdom enough to improve them. I shall not rest contented till I have explored the Western country, and traversed those lines, or a great part of them, which have given bounds to a new empire."[1]

After returning from his eighth tour in the following year (1784), he wrote to Governor Harrison of Virginia his impressions made by it, and the

[1] Sparks's Writings of Washington, vol. viii. p. 489.

letter is almost a state paper from its scope. Forecasting the development of that immense extent of country, which he is moved to call "a new empire," intrusted by divine favors to the young republic, and referring to the vigorous settlements there, and anticipating the States to come out of it, he adds: "When they get strength, which will be sooner than most people conceive," [1] etc. A century now, and more, has been filling the East with surprises by the fulfilments of that prophecy. Irving well says: "The suggestions of Washington in his letter to the governor, and his representation, during this visit to Richmond, gave the first impulse to the great system of internal improvements since pursued throughout the United States." [2]

Those eight Western tours, short for a travelling salesman of to-day, but then very extended, elevated Washington from a provincial to a continental statesman, and enabled him to say, from travel and study, what few have been able to say, then or since, — that the West would show great strength "sooner than most people conceive." That growth has ever since kept in advance of the conceptions of the average Atlantic statesman, and is constantly surprising even the students of Western development. A few aggregate statements,

[1] Sparks's Writings of Washington, vol. ix. p. 62, October 10, 1784.

[2] Life of Washington, vol. iv. p. 459.

made up to 1880, will confirm the prediction of Washington and the comments which we have made on it.

Of the thirty-five cities classed in the last census as having a population of fifty thousand or more each, fifteen of them are beyond the Alleghanies. Even Boston, after all its annexations, is shut in, for its numerical position, between Chicago and St. Louis, — the latter a foreign town when Washington made the tour, and the former not born till near half a century afterward.

Between 1870 and 1880, the population of the United States incresaed 11,920,000. When it is considered that the centre of population in 1880 was eight miles west by south from the heart of the city of Cincinnati, it will be seen that much of this increase must have been in the West; and that centre is about two hundred and twenty miles farther west than any point which Washington reached. He gained his impressions of "the immense extent and importance" of the United States without crossing the meridian of Cincinnati.

It is needless to say that all the food supplies, for American tables totally, and for European so largely, are furnished almost wholly by the West. All the wheat of New England would not call for her hot ovens three weeks a year. All the oats raised in New England in 1880 would feed all the working-horses of the country only three days, at a peck a day.

It will be observed that the most of these items, as population, live-stock and cereals, and the practical and special metals, which have carried our nation, in a century, to the fulfilment of Washington's predictions, and to the very front among the nations of the world, were produced "out West." The aggregates given may not be unfamiliar to our princely and international men of commerce, and to eminent railroad men; but the great body of the people receive such statements with profound surprise, and with the scepticism usually underlying the saying, "Western stories." These immense gains of national strength have come "sooner than most people conceived."

The very extent and development of our new country have put it to a disadvantage before the older sections as regards its areas and increase and importance to the entire body politic, by compelling statements of them which seem incredible to the unread and untravelled. Sometimes a lack of apprehension has been followed, rationally, by a lack of appreciation; and sometimes it has been so far measured and estimated as to create jealousy and stimulate repression by the older States. As to any attempts, however, locally and provincially, or nationally, to repress Western growth, it proved as futile as to serve an injunction on an active volcano, or move to stay proceedings in the process of an eclipse. Yet our history is not barren in this line. Failure to foresee and anticipate has led to

some unfortunate neglects, and the loss of grand opportunities. Wealth has rare foreknowledge, and the bees have discovered rich fields afar and made new hives in them; while sedentary benevolence has indulged memories rather than anticipations, and worked over and over again the somewhat exhausted acres of the fathers.

In his own delicate and comprehensive way Washington hinted at the neglect of the West by the Atlantic East, which feeling he soon saw developed, even to opposition. The letter of General Putnam to him in 1783 revealed a chance for a noble movement into the West, and he gave it his favor, and soon learned how sceptical and suspicious the East was of the West. The letter was more than an epistle, in both volume and topic, and will hold place among eminent papers on the Mississippi Valley, as inaugurating both the Ohio Company and a general policy. By Act of Congress, Oct. 27, 1787, then in session at New York, grants of wild lands in the Northwest Territory were made to the company, amounting to near five millions of acres. In obtaining these lands it acted for other parties jointly with itself, and finally obtained as its own 964,285 acres, and Washington signed many of the patents, May 10, 1792. The Rev. Dr. Manasseh Cutler acted as agent for the company before Congress. In a diary, quite minute, he says: "The delegates from Massachusetts, although exceedingly worthy men,

and in general would wish to promote the Ohio scheme, yet, if it should militate against the particular interest of this State, by draining her of inhabitants, especially when she is forming the plan of selling the Eastern country [Province of Maine], I thought they would not be very warm advocates in our favor; and I dare not trust myself with any of the New York delegates with whom I am acquainted, because that government is wisely inviting the Eastern people to settle in that State. . . . Few, Bingham, and Kearney are our principal opposers. . . . New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts would sell us lands at half a dollar an acre."[1]

The opposition which the Ohio Company encountered in Mr. Bingham was Eastern and personal and financial. This William Bingham, to whom reference has been made, then delegate from Pennsylvania, was about this time the owner of nearly two and a half million acres of wild land in the Province of Maine, and naturally would oppose the schemes before the Continental Congress, to put five millions of Ohio land on the public market. There were other heavy Eastern operations in wild land which stood in the way of the Ohio movement, and one more may be stated. In a letter to his Secretary of State, Washington says: "It will be fortunate for the

[1] Walker's History of Athens County, Ohio, pp. 38, 39, 65, 67 *et alibi.*

American public if private speculations in lands still claimed by the aborigines do not aggravate those differences which policy, humanity, and justice concur to deprecate."

To this Sparks, editing the writings of Washington, adds this note: "Alluding to the large purchasers of new lands, situated in the eastern part of Massachusetts, which had recently been made by Robert Morris, of Gorham and Phillips. The quantity, as stated by Mr. Jefferson, was 1,300,000 acres, at five pence an acre, with an additional tract for the gross sum of £100,000."

This additional tract, at the same price, would be 4,800,000 acres, — total purchase by Morris, of 6,100,000 acres.[1]

When Louisiana was added to our domain in 1803, the question of its settlement by immigration became a leading, and at times a very warm one. Under the treaty of cession Major Amos Stoddard took charge of the Upper Province for the United States, and thus states the great question: "Will the United States permit the sale of the public lands in Louisiana, and by this measure encourage the settlement of that country? . . . It has been suggested that, the more effectually to promote the national interests, we must first dispose of the public lands on the east side of the Mississippi. . . . Settlers enter-

[1] Sparks's Writings of Washington (Letter to Jefferson, April 1, 1791), vol. x. p. 151.

tain a predilection for the lands in the Upper Louisiana." [1]

Here, as in the case of the Ohio Company, the sale and settlement of the new lands in the West are made of doubtful policy because the East has so much unsold on the market. When the acquisition of Louisiana was probable, either by negotiation or conquest, popular discussion took up the topic, and in a tract those who wished it through war are thus set forth: "The speculators of all kinds anticipate new scenes for their rapacity, and the Eastern States indulge their apprehensions of the rising prosperity and strength of the Western." [2]

Another author pleads the seaboard side of this question more pointedly, and shows the advantage of the purchase for the East, "in having effectually secured ourselves against future rivalship in the sales of our lands on this side the Mississippi. Our Western lands now command two dollars per acre at the lowest." [3] Here is the plan to keep up the price of wild land east of the Mississippi, then much in private hands and tending that way, by withholding the new purchase from the market. But it did not succeed, and the price dropped to one dollar and a quarter. The author goes on to

[1] Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana. By Major Amos Stoddard. 1812. pp. 259–262.

[2] The Mississippi Question Fairly Stated. By Camillus. 1803.

[3] Reflections on the Cession of Louisiana to the United States. By Sylvestris. Aug. 10, 1803.

say of the purchase: "It secures us against the danger of depopulation by emigration from these States to Louisiana. . . . The rage for acquiring lands in Louisiana and migrating thither to settle, if encouraged, must at no very distant day weaken and reduce the population in the Atlantic States, and not improbably all that lie eastward of the Mississippi. The consequence of such a reduction must prove ultimately fatal to the United States, for we may boldly pronounce that the confederacy can never be permanently extended beyond the Mississippi, nor preserved among its present numbers, whenever Louisiana shall become a populous country. Whenever that event takes place, the constellation of the present United States will probably set forever."

Yet Iowa and Minnesota and Missouri and Kansas have not caused even an eclipse of that constellation!

"Must we, then, never dispose of this immense quantity of valuable lands which we have purchased at such a price? No, never, as long as the United States have lands to dispose of and settle on this side the Mississippi. . . . In no possible view can I perceive any benefit likely to result to the United States by opening a land office in Louisiana, whilst a thousand mischiefs threaten to flow from any attempt of the kind."[1]

[1] Reflections on the Cession of Louisiana to the United States, pp. 16, 22, 23, 24.

And "Sylvestris" finally balances his hopes and fears over the Louisiana purchase with a plausible ejaculation, in a pagan tongue, that the United States might discover the fact that they are already well off.[1]

In 1807 Rhea of Tennessee proposed in the House some surveys in Louisiana, that more of the public lands might be put on the market; but Varnum of Massachusetts opposed the scheme, since it would put on the market lands competing with those of the East, and it was laid over.

A political and partisan and provincial philippic will show some of the darker shades of this question, as set in New England light, when the admission of the State of Louisiana was claiming attention: "There is no subject of complaint against the Democratic administration which presents such a variety of disgraceful features, which involved so many and so various causes of censure, in its origin, principles, progress, and effects, as this shameful purchase of a colony of Frenchmen. In its origin it was corrupt. . . . In its principles it was hostile to our Constitution and unfriendly to our republican habits. . . . In its effects it has been a vast whirlpool which has not only swallowed up the original purchase-money of eleven millions and a half, but the immense sums which have been expended in exploring its unknown frontiers; in regulating, with France, the adjust-

[1] "*O fortunati, nimium, sua si bona noverint!*"

ment of boundaries purposely left unsettled; in fortifications and a navy for its defence, as well as the maintenance of an army who have gone thither only to fertilize its soil with their miserable remains. . . . The origin of this monstrous purchase, the effects of which will be felt to our latest posterity, it is well known is to be found in the necessity which the transmontane or Western States were under to have the free navigation of the Mississippi . . . all to be charged to the account of those backwoodsmen who are so hostile to commercial interests," etc.[1]

It would be unjust to the topic in hand not to introduce evidence from another source, and all the more worthy as furnished by a representative and deliberative body. What the Hartford Convention of 1814 was called to do, or did, or failed to do, does not concern our inquiry. Only its expressed sentiments on the East as related to the West are now pertinent.

In reporting the causes which the committee of the Convention thought had sadly depressed the commerce, manufactures, trade, and general business of New England, they state this as the sixth: "The admission of new States into the Union, formed at pleasure in the western region, has destroyed the balance of power which existed among

[1] The New England Patriot: Being a candid comparison of the principles and conduct of the Washington and Jefferson administrations. Boston, 1810, pp. 58, 59.

the original States, and deeply affected their interest."

In recommending measures of action for relief and future safety, a second committee reported: "That it is expedient to make provision for restraining Congress in the exercise of an unlimited power to make new States and admit them into the Union." So far as the records show, this recommendation was adopted. In commending this restriction of congressional power, the first committee, in their report, say: "By the admissions of these States that balance (between the original thirteen) has been materially affected, and unless the practice be modified, must ultimately be destroyed. The Southern States will first avail themselves of their new confederates to govern the East; and finally the Western States, multiplied in number and augmented in population, will control the interests of the whole. . . . Those who are immediately concerned in the prosecution of commerce will, of necessity, be always a minority of the nation. They are, however, best qualified to manage and direct its course by the advantages of experience and the sense of interest. But they are entirely unable to protect themselves against the sudden and injudicious decisions of bare majorities, and the mistaken or oppressive projects of those who are not actively concerned in its pursuits. Of consequence, this interest is always exposed to be harassed, inter-

rupted, and entirely destroyed, upon pretence of securing other interests. Had the merchants of this nation been permitted by their own government to pursue an innocent and lawful course, how different would have been the state of the treasury and the public credit! . . The immense population which has swarmed into the West, remote from immediate danger, and which is constantly augmenting, will not be averse from the occasional disturbances of the Atlantic States."[1]

As the results of one hundred years show, Jefferson had broad and forecasting views as to the ownership of Louisiana, and it would be difficult to name another act of statesmanship which has so rounded up the republic with grace and strength and promise: "We should take care not to think it for the interest of that great continent to press too soon upon the Spaniards. Those countries cannot be in better hands. My fear is that they are too feeble to hold them until our population can be sufficiently advanced to gain it from them piece by piece. The navigation of the Mississippi we must have soon. This is all we are yet ready to receive."[2]

This was in 1786.

The unintelligent neglect of the West by the East — apathy and sometimes opposition — may

[1] History of the Hartford Convention. By Theodore Dwight, Secretary of the Convention. pp. 369, 371, 372, 373, 392.

[2] American State Papers, Boston edition, vol. v. p. 94.

be best seen by grouping, somewhat miscellaneously, a few scattered facts. In 1791 Vermont prevailed over the opposition of Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, and entered the Union. Madison, in a paper furnished by himself to Sparks, says: "The grounds of this opposition are, first, an habitual jealousy of a predominance of Eastern interests." [1]

The citations following go more directly to show a willingness to limit the national growth westward. Lieutenant Pike, basing his remarks on observations made in his two exploring tours (1805–07), says that the prairies, "incapable of cultivation," will serve as "a restriction of our population to some certain limits, and thereby a continuance of the Union." In a letter to Astor, Jefferson speaks of the Astorian enterprise as the hopeful germ of a body of "independent Americans unconnected with us but by the ties of blood and interest, enjoying, like us, the right of self-government." Our first Governor of the Upper Louisiana, Major Stoddard, enters this most singular statement in his "Sketches," so discouraging to immigration into that exuberant wheat-field of the world: "The country above the Falls of St. Anthony will never attract the attention of the agriculturalists. It is mostly of a cold and sterile nature." In a communication addressed to President Monroe, General Jackson advances

[1] Writings of Washington, vol. xii. 548.

this theory: "Concentrate our population, confine our frontier to proper limits, until our country, to those limits, is filled with a dense population. It is the denseness of our population that gives strength and security to our frontier."

In "Flint's Travels in the Valley of the Mississippi, 1815–25," the author thus sets forth, in paraphrase, the views on the new settlers and settlements, of a man famed for his scholarship, offices, and published writings, among them travels in New England and New York:[1] "I have read, and not without feelings of pain, the bitter representations of the learned Dr. Dwight in speaking of them. He represents these vast regions as a kind of reservoir for the scum of the Atlantic States. He characterizes, in the mass, the emigrants from New England, as discontented cobblers, too proud, too much in debt, too unprincipled, too much puffed up with self-conceit, too strongly impressed that their fanciful talents could not find scope in their own country, to stay there."

These views of the President of Yale College — not drawn from observation — are quite in contrast with those of Daniel Webster, in his speech in the Senate in 1838, on "The Right of Pre-emption," after he had visited regions beyond the Mississippi, and looked upon our border men in their homes: "They have the general character

[1] Travels in New England and New York. By Timothy Dwight, D.D., LL.D. Vol. ii. Letter 14.

of frontiersmen ; they are hardy, adventurous, and enterprising. They have come from far to establish themselves and families in new abodes in the West. They appeared to me to be industrious and laborious ; and I saw nothing in their character or conduct that should justly draw upon them expressions of contumely and reproach." [1]

Such impressions of the West as those given by Dr. Dwight have not ceased even yet, and among otherwise learned men, who confine their travels to their family carriage and to their native New England hills. Bradbury, an English traveller, who ventured so far from home as to spend the years 1809–11 in the interior of North America, and while making the discovery of the surprising breadth of country between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains, makes these unintentional reflections on American geographers and travellers : " The territory west of the Mississippi, and extending from that river to the Rocky Mountains, . . . is not accurately known on account of the real situation of the Rocky Mountains not yet being truly ascertained. But it appears from the accounts of hunters and travellers, that on some of our best maps and globes they are laid down too far to the eastward."

Very like. It is not the Rocky Mountains alone which have been easily moved about here and there, and by Americans scholarly in the

[1] Webster's Works, vol. iv. p. 399.

alcove and quite at home in the Alps and on the Jordan and the Nile! A chapter of blunders in American geography would be a choice entertainment, and all the contributors to it would not be foreigners and Western Americans.

William Sturgis, speaking once, somewhat representatively, for New England commerce, before the Mercantile Library Association in Boston, said it would be a less evil for the American Union to have the Pacific extend itself over Oregon Territory to the base of the Rocky Mountains, than to convert that Territory into new States for the Union.

In his admirable letters, which shed so much light on the Oregon question, and aided so much to its final and fortunate settlement, Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury from 1801 to 1814, favored the policy of an undivided Oregon, extending north to fifty-four degrees forty minutes, erected into an independent government. These letters were written in 1846.

In his seat in the lower House of Congress in 1844, Winthrop guards against the preponderating growth of the West over the East, by making access to Oregon across the continent impossible by nature, and speaks of "the perpetual snows which nature has opposed to the passage of this disputed territory;" and again: "The West has no interest, the country has no interest in extending our territorial possessions." And again in

Congress, in 1846: "Are our Western brethren straitened for elbow-room, or likely to be for a thousand years?" The "perpetual snows" have proved to be a figure of speech rather than a fact in nature; and from the speed with which "our Western brethren" are filling up that impassable and inhospitable region, it seems likely to be necessary to shorten the "one thousand years" into a hundred and less.

In the line of thought which we are now opening it is a suggestive fact that "no bill relating to Oregon was passed by either House before 1843, nor was any decisive measure on the subject adopted by the American Government."[1] It was in March of the same year that Dr. Whitman ended his wonderful ride at Washington, and first fully showed to the East the value and accessibility of Oregon, and in the summer took back eight hundred and seventy-five emigrants in two hundred wagons, with thirteen hundred head of cattle, and thus saved Oregon. Covering these and other great facts, Gallatin well says in his fifth letter: "Enterprising individuals have, without any aid or encouragement by Government, opened a wagon road eighteen hundred miles in length, through an arid or mountainous region, and made settlements on or near the shores of the Pacific, without any guaranty for the possession of the land improved by their labors. . . . Now that the tide of emigra-

[1] Greenhow's History of Oregon and California, p. 379.

tion has turned in their favor, they are suddenly invited to assume a hostile position, to endure the calamities, and to run the chances and consequences of war."

Early and primitive Oregon is a marked illustration of this neglect of the West. The Government had its claims on Oregon, and the founders of the coming twentieth State in the Union were there. These were left without civil government or laws, except as those of an alien power, those of the Hudson Bay Company, were imposed on them. So hemmed in were they by the critical issues of the Oregon controversy, and the nervous anxieties of the times, that they could not openly convene in council to take first steps from an inorganic to an organic civil state. A ruse was well planned to supply the deficiency of Congress. They were stock-owners, and the wild animals preyed on their herds, and they called a "wolf meeting," to concert measures for defence, and thence went up from wild animals to men, and established the first civil government of Oregon.[1] It was nothing new for the best blood and heroic spirits of the Republic, then at the extreme front planting out coming commonwealths, to be left quite unaided to struggle with wild animals and hostile Indians. The same thing was common to the border from

[1] The History of Oregon. By W. H. Gray. 1870. Chap. xxxiii. Oregon: The Struggle for Possession. By W. Barrows. 1884. Chap. xxvi.

earlier days, and, sad to say, is yet. The voice of many a John the Baptist is now crying in the wilderness of America, and doing brave and patriotic and Christian work for civilization, to whom very scant stipends come, and often tardily, and dubious wardrobes from the very comfortable East. Judge Innes of Kentucky, in a letter to the War Department, under date of July, 1790, says: "All measures heretofore attempted for relief have been committed for execution to the hands of strangers [Eastern men] who have no interest in common with the West."

Nor did matters much or rapidly improve for the advance belt of the American nation, as the years ran by. "The few roads that crossed the mountains [the Alleghanies, 1811] were so wretchedly bad that the wagons toiled over them with great difficulty, and a large portion of the merchandise was carried on the backs of horses. Even that was considered a triumphant result of enterprise and a rapid advance in improvement. For a few years only had then advanced since Mr. Brown, a delegate from Kentucky in Congress, had been smiled at as visionary, by the members of that august body, for asking the establishment of a mail to Pittsburgh, to be carried on horseback once in two weeks. He was told that such a mail was not needed, that probably it would never be required, and that the obstacles of the road were insuperable."[1]

[1] Notes on the Western States. By James Hall. 1832. p. 225.

Benton had pointed out the same unwise and cramping policy of the East toward the new country in the discussion of the resolution of Mr. Foote, offered in the Senate in 1829. Mr. Foote was Senator from Connecticut, and may be assumed to have carried the ordinary interests that Eastern men then had in visionary fortunes in wild lands, already purchased, both sides of the Alleghanies. His project was to stop all survey and sales of Government lands till those already on the public market, at the national land offices, were sold. The opponents of the resolution urged that that state of things had already been attained which Webster, during the discussion, said would come under another system of sale, when individuals would get large quantities of land into their hands, and then "become themselves the competitors with the government in the sale of land." The East held inferior lands, which they could not sell without forcing the land market to a scarcity of supply. The resolution had this tendency and apparent design, and, if enforced, would greatly damage the opening of the new West. Hence Mr. Benton said: "If the sales are limited to the lands now in market, emigration will cease to flow, for those lands [now in market] are not of a character to attract people at a distance." They were the refuse of many years' sales, as "shop-worn" goods. It was as if sharp speculators in wheat had loaded themselves heavily with inferior and

unsalable grain, and would move to stop receipts of good grades till, under stress of buyers, they could unload. These speculative capitalists sought thus to use the Government for private gains and to help them out of poor investments, by dwarfing and stopping the growth of the nation on the borders. Benton urged that the resolution would have the effect of "limiting the settlements in the new States and Territories," and by keeping back first-class lands "it would deliver up large portions of new States and Territories to the dominion of wild beasts." In the same connection Benton said that the scheme of the resolution "was intended to prevent emigration to the West. It was a renewed effort to strangle the young Hercules. The same attempt had been systematically made for forty years. The attempt came from the same quarter now as formerly." In commenting on the discussion as developing Eastern jealousy of the West and a selfish willingness to sacrifice it to the ill-proportioned growth of the oldest States, he adds: "The debate spread and took an acrimonious and sectional turn, imputing to the quarter of the Union from which it came an old and early policy to check the growth of the West at the outset." [1]

The defence of the East, in this regard, by Webster, must not be forgotten, as, indeed, there is no danger. Out of this resolution of Foote to

[1] Benton's Thirty Years' View, vol. i. pp. 130–132.

stop the sales of the public lands came those two remarkable speeches of the great statesman, in which he defended New England against varied criticisms and attacks, as summed up by Benton, but formally and oratorically presented by Hayne. It is doubtful whether the English language, so well adapted for a forensic oration, was ever more nobly used. That masterly constitutional defence of the American Union left nothing more for argument, and all remaining protection to the sword. When the logical defence revived, in later days, all turned to that speech for argument, and little was found that Webster had left unsaid. He towered above all others as a fortress of strength, and those who looked for a peaceable preservation of the Union turned to him, saying: "Thy neck is like the tower of David builded for an armory, whereon there hang a thousand bucklers, all shields of mighty men." The prayer of his great American heart was answered, yet not much in advance of the visions he feared: "When my eyes shall be turned to behold for the last time the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union, — on States dissevered, discordant, belligerent, — on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood!"

His defence, however, of the East, which should lie rather in the line of facts than of oratory, does not seem to have been as conclusive as his con-

stitutional argument for the Union. His defence of the East is made up mostly of well-rounded and energetic affirmations and denials. His strongest point is put first: "It appears that we have, at this moment, surveyed and in the market, ready for sale, two hundred and ten millions of acres or thereabouts." He also says, and to the honor of New England: "In 1820 the people of the West besought Congress for a reduction in the price of lands. In favor of that reduction, New England, with a delegation of forty members in the other House, gave thirty-three votes, and one only against it. . . . In 1821 the law passed for the relief of the purchasers of the public lands," for which New England gave more votes than the South, who had a delegation one fourth larger. At that time the Government was selling its lands on credit, and this law eased the purchasers, now in arrears, at the rate of about thirty-seven cents to the acre. The total relinquished by the Government under this law was six or seven millions of dollars.[1]

For the rest, the defence is mainly declarative: "I rise to defend the East. I rise to repel both the charge itself and the cause assigned for it. I deny that the East has, at any time, shown an illiberal policy towards the West. I pronounce the whole accusation to be without the least foundation in any facts existing now or at any previous

[1] Webster's Works, vol. iii. pp. 249, 294, 295.

time. I deny it in the general, and I deny each and all its particulars. I deny the sum total, and I deny the detail. . . . New England is guiltless of the policy of retarding Western population, and of all envy and jealousy of the growth of the new States."

Against these round periods it would be fitting, as before a board of cool referees, that such men as Clay and Benton and Linn, speaking from their border ground and out of their experiences, should file in their facts. The ellipse, enclosing all which is pertinent to a fair judgment, has two foci, eastern and western. Of course McDuffie is extravagant in remarks made on the National Road Bill, in 1825: "I believe that if the public lands had never been sold, the aggregate amount of the national wealth would have been greater at this moment. Our population, if concentrated in the old States, and not ground down by tariff, would have been more prosperous and wealthy." This is the senator who, speaking of Oregon as a farming country, said, "I would not, for that purpose, give a pinch of snuff for the whole territory."

Some years after his defence of the East, Webster admitted the strong opposition of the East to the West, which, in his great speech, he assumed to disprove: "I remember, sir, and indeed a very short memory might retain the recollection, when the first appropriations for harbors on the Great

[1] Webster's Works, vol. iii. pp. 261, 289.

Lakes were carried through this body, not without the utmost difficulty and against the most determined opposition. . . . I remember when Lake Ontario, Lake Erie, and Lake Michigan were likely to be condemned to a continuance in the state in which nature and the Indian tribes had left them, with no proof upon their shores of the policy of a civilized state, no harbors for the shelter of a hundred vessels, no lighthouse even to point out to the inland navigator the dangers of his course." [1]

No one question has so drawn the line of demarcation between the East and the West, and continuously through decades of years, and with deep sectional warmth, as that of internal improvements. Donaldson, in his "Public Domain," 1884, speaks of these struggles as "the fierce political battles after the year 1803." It will be enough to name some of the bills over which the provincial contests were waged and prolonged from 1802 till the West was able to take the matter into their own hands, and initiated the system of land-grants for railroads by passing the bill for the Illinois Central, Sept. 20, 1850. There were the Cumberland Road Bill and the Maysville, with their vetoes by Monroe and Jackson; and continuously, some portion of the National Road. which was finally opened as far as Indianapolis,

[1] Remarks in the Senate on the Louisville Canal, May 25, 1836. Works, vol. iv. pp. 249–251.

A quotation here from the St. Louis Directory of 1821, the first of that city, will prove an item of information and serve as a milestone of progress in the westward movement of the nation. The assessed valuation of this backwoods city then was $940,926, and its taxes for that year were $3,763, on a population of 5,500. The town was then within fortifications. "They consist of several circular stone towers, about fifteen feet in height and twenty in diameter, a wooden block-house, and a large stone bastion," then used as a military garden. Referring back to the time when they killed buffalo on Mill Creek and around Choteau's Pond, now the heart of the city of three hundred and fifty thousand people, the author, Mr. Paxton, says: "What a prodigious change has been operated!" The Directory proceeds to say: "The roads leading from St. Louis are very good. . . . Two stages run from this town, — one to Edwardsville and the other to Franklin. . . . It is expected that the Great National Turnpike, leading from Washington, will strike this place, as the commissioners for the United States have reported in favor of it. . . . It is contemplated at some future day to open a direct intercourse with India, by the Missouri and Columbia rivers."

The Straits of Anian, it will be noticed, were yet a beautiful and stimulating delusion. And the wag came nearer to being a prophet than was

supposed, when he caricatured the ambitions of St. Louis by thus advertising in their city papers in 1815 a new town, called Neplusultra: "The streets were laid out a mile in width; the squares were to be sections, each containing six hundred and forty acres. The Mall was a vast standing forest. In the centre of this modern Babylon roads were to cross each other in a meridional line, at right angles, one from the south pole to Symmes hole in the earth, and another from Pekin to Jerusalem."[1] When this National Road Bill was under discussion in the House, in 1825, Mr. Beecher of Ohio said: "Fifteen million dollars were expended annually, and what proportion of it went west of the Alleghany Mountains? . . . The entire sum (to build the road) would not be equal to what was expended in some small ports on the Atlantic coast."[2]

There was the Wabash Improvement Bill and its veto by Jackson, and the River, Harbor, and Improvement Bill, vetoed by Polk. There were, between 1824 and 1880, twenty concessions of public land for canal purposes, aggregating 4,424,073 acres, over which many of those "fierce political battles" were fought, — the West steadily gaining for the next issue.

[1] Flint's Travels in the Valley of the Mississippi, pp. 187, 188.

[2] Gales and Seaton's Congressional Debates, vol. i. pp. 190, 191.

We have already seen how Congress smiled at the visionary scheme to have a horseback mail once in two weeks over the Alleghanies into the West. Mr. Brown was told that such mail accommodations would never be needed, and that the obstacles to such a road were insuperable. It appeared, slowly, that the obstacles were not in the Alleghanies, but in Washington. The struggles of the West for their national roads were constant and varied through multiplex and intricate and formidable opposition. This opposition, principally from the tide-water East, sprang from various causes; mainly it was from a failure to grasp and comprehend the West, and to anticipate its future, and hence indifference to its development. There were, also, vast funded moneys in commerce and in Eastern lands, which would suffer under Western growth. There were added the petty ambitions of the village statesman, to whom his county and the country were almost synonymous, and who, therefore, picketed and fingered his ancestral garden in "pent-up Utica." But slowly, somewhat imperceptibly and irresistibly, the centre of national power moved westward, and still going west, it held its emigrating centre in 1880, as has been already stated, on the Kentucky side of the Ohio, eight miles west by south from the heart of Cincinnati.

We have not had many men built on the plan of the breadth of our continent, who could easily

turn it in hand, as a piece of property, and examine its Atlantic and Pacific, and lake and gulf sides. The limitations of their comprehension compelled many of our leading men to be provincial in their feelings and sectional in their policies. Travel to the interior regions was not much indulged in because of discomforts, expense, and cost of time, on account of the magnificent distances. A trip to the Ohio in the first quarter of the century was a greater undertaking than one to China to-day. So ignorance of the West, its distance from the colonial seaboard, and the lack of prophetic foresight by the East, as well as jealous anxieties concerning its growth, doomed its development by congressional aid to a constant struggle, till the balance of power found a way over the Alleghanies which Congress could not find for a semi-monthly mail on horseback. Even Webster, one of the first to entertain a continental policy, came up but slowly to the eminence of a national statesman. It was as late as 1836, when the Louisville Canal Bill was under discussion, that he made that noble utterance: "For one, I look to the magnitude of the object, and not to its locality. I ask not whether it be east or west of the mountains. There are no Alleghanies in my politics." He crossed them the next year and spent five days, in June, beyond the Mississippi, in St. Louis.

Sketching here and there this Eastern neglect

of the West serves to introduce a case boldly illustrative and somewhat extreme. The illustration will have weight in the fact that the life of the person covered eighty-eight years of the Republic, closing in the fourth year of the late war, and that almost his entire adult life was public, bearing state and national and civic and academic honor, while he sustained well a name eminent in New England history. Josiah Quincy served one year in the Massachusetts Senate, entered Congress, — the lower House, — in 1805, and retired in 1813, and was for sixteen years the president of Harvard College. The publicity of the man in offices so high and filled by election, gives prominence and weight to his views on national questions, some of the cardinal ones of which, his son and biographer says, he adhered to, "right or wrong," to the day of his death.

By the addition of Louisiana to the public domain, Mr. Quincy maintained that the Constitution was violated and the foundations of the Government were unsettled, so that no State formed out of it could constitutionally enter the Union or become an equal with States founded in the original domain.[1]

On the 15th of January, 1811, and by a vote of seventy-seven to thirty-six, Louisiana was admitted as a State into the Union. On the day

[1] The Life of Josiah Quincy. By Edmund Quincy. 1874. pp. 91, 97, 205.

preceding, Mr. Quincy spoke against the admission, and in very strong terms, some of them remarkable: "I am compelled to declare it as my deliberate opinion, that if this bill passes, the bonds of the Union are virtually dissolved; so that the States which compose it are free from their moral obligations, and that, as it will be the right of all, so it will be the duty of some, to prepare definitely for a separation, amicably if they can, violently if they must." [1]

One would not be looking for the doctrines of secession from Massachusetts, and so many years in advance of South Carolina. But when the same doctrines came into Congress from the South, in 1830, Massachusetts also furnished their energetic denial and refutation.

"'But,' says the gentleman from Tennessee, Mr. Rhea, 'these people have been seven years citizens of the United States.' I deny it, sir. As citizens of New Orleans, or of Louisiana, they never have been, and by the mode proposed they never will be, citizens of the United States. . . . Why, sir, I have already heard of six States and some say there will be, at no great distance of time, more. We have thirteen now, and nine stately Territories in vigorous progress. I have also heard that the mouth of the Ohio will be far to the east of the centre of the contemplated

[1] Life of Josiah Quincy, p. 206.

empire. If the bill is passed, the principle is recognized. All the rest are mere questions of expediency. It is impossible such a power could be granted. It was not for these men that our fathers fought, it was not for them this Constitution was adopted. You have no authority to throw the rights and liberties and property of this people into hotch-pot with the wild men on the Missouri, nor with the mixed, though more respectable, race of Anglo-Hispano Americans, who bask on the sands in the mouth of the Mississippi. . . . Do you suppose the people of the Northern and Atlantic States will, or ought, to look on with patience, and see representatives and senators from the Red River and the Missouri pouring themselves upon this and the other floor, managing the concerns of a seaboard one thousand and five hundred miles at least from their residences, and having a preponderance in councils into which, constitutionally, they could never have been admitted. . . . Take care, in your haste after effectual dominion, not to overload the scale by heaping it with these new acquisitions. . . . Already the old States sink in the estimation of members, when brought into comparison with these new countries. . . . We have been asked: 'What are some of the small States compared with the Mississippi territory?' The gentleman from that territory, Mr. Poindexter, spoke the other day of the Mississippi as of 'a high road between.' Good heavens! between

what, Mr. Speaker? 'Why, the Eastern and the Western States.' So that all the northwestern Territories, all the countries once the extreme western boundary of the Union, are hereafter to be denominated Eastern States.' [How accurately, how unwillingly and unintentionally correct! For a north and south halving-line of the Union of that day, including the "unconstitutional" Louisiana, would place the most of Minnesota and Iowa and all of Missouri and Arkansas and Louisiana, and sections of Kansas, the Indian Territory, and Texas, within the Eastern States.] . . . The extension of their principles to the States contemplated beyond the Mississippi, cannot, will not, and ought not to be borne. . . . The bill, if it passes, is a death-blow to the Constitution."[1]

Of this speech Mr. Hildreth says: "It was the first announcement on the floor of Congress of the doctrines of secession."[2] Two years afterward Mr. Quincy returned to private life, and in April, 1813, gave the annual address before the Washington Benevolent Society of Boston. It is reported to have been received with great favor, and passages from it may therefore be taken while considering the East and the West in their relations to each other. Especially may this be done in view of the fact that, the same year, the Massachusetts legis-

[1] Life of Josiah Quincy, pp. 206–211.

[2] History of the United States, vol. iii. p. 226.

lature passed a resolution instructing its representatives in Congress to ask for the repeal of the action which admitted Louisiana as a State into the Union. Mr. Quincy says, in this address : —

"The new States govern the old, the unsettled the settled; the influences of emigrants prevail over those of the ancient natives; a black population overbalances the white; from woods and lakes and desert wilderness legislators issue, controlling the destinies of a seaboard people, paralyzing all their interests and darkening all their prospects. . . . A whirlwind from the west is passing over those massy pillars of our greatness, and they are almost prostrate. Our commerce, navigation, and fisheries are gone. . . . Louisiana is spoken of as being an integral part of the nation, with as much indifference as though it had been admitted by an unquestionable authority. We hear of the intention of cutting it up into new States, with as much unconcern as though we had no interest in the matter. . . . That proportion of power which they [the New England States] possessed at the adoption of the Constitution is gone. This proportion, thus diminished, is every day diminishing still further, in a geometrical ratio. . . . Out from your councils, out from your confidence, be every man who will not maintain the old foundations of New England prosperity. Follow no longer the doctrines and commandments from the mountains. Con-

tend earnestly for the commercial faith delivered by your fathers, and let him who will not stand up for it be to you worse than an infidel." [1]

Of course we pardon much to the habitat of the man whose home commanded a full view of Boston Harbor, and from whose windows every ship entering and leaving that port could be seen. His ideas of national prosperity were inseparable from tide-water. Hence his extreme Eastern and commercial notions drove him rashly to secession from agricultural and fresh-water growth in the deep interior. The Republican chick must not lose sight of its egg-shell. We also pardon much to the gloomy times when the War of 1812, with its embargo, and with shipping and wharves decaying together, cast an eclipse over the Atlantic seaboard. Yet it would seem that an ardent man, educated and in the prime of forty-one years, should have had some of the instincts of a prophet and been open to the inspiration of a boundless continent. But we remember that a prince among prophets wrote also a "Book of Lamentation." The surprise is lessened by the fact that, even yet, many men, very able in their sphere, fail to appreciate our magnificent interior development. They were born among ships, and when they travel it is in ships, and so their education is in local rather than in national interests and pursuits. They are able up

[1] Life of Josiah Quincy, pp. 309, 316.

to their limits, but lack an apprehension and an appreciation. They have "Alleghanies in their politics."

It is with deep regret for the entire dominion of our flag that one holding such view, and in so pronounced a way, had the guiding and moulding for sixteen years of the American sentiment of so many young men coming prominently to the front in national affairs. The inevitable and, indeed, the accomplished from 1803 downward, was declined and disowned, and all of the Union west of the Mississippi was put under ban as an unconstitutional and enforced partner in the American Union. This was a rejection, so far as it had power, of more territory than the fathers gained in the Revolution; and as that immense valley, one half larger than the old Roman empire, is indivisible in interests and sympathies, the sense of alienation thus begotten extended from the Alleghanies to the Pacific. The indifference to its development and the ignorance of its geography and natural resources and prophetic growths, thus engendered in the East, are felt to this day. Scholars have taken their diplomas with a much better knowledge of Europe than of the United States, and are more at home in the exhumed towns and cities of classic lands than in the land of their birth and lifework. Thalaba, among the ruins of Babylon, could not have been a more bewildered and amazed traveller than would be many Eastern grad-

uates in any one of a dozen living cities, ranging from a score of thousand inhabitants to the size of Boston, in that same alienated territory. As a sectional sentiment, it was historically and prophetically correct to say "the old States sink," while it is left for any one to say to-day that the United States, as a nation, stand abreast of the first in the world; or, as the English Premier puts it: "I suppose that the very next census, in the year 1880, will exhibit her to the world as certainly the wealthiest of all the nations." And the fact proved that Gladstone was correct, when the nations submitted their census tables for 1880.

The frequent reference to salt-water commerce, not yet obsolete, lacks the national in scope and interest, and does not correspond with the international character of the United States. Nine hundred steamers chafing the levee at different times, and forty at once, at St. Louis, gave me different feelings. The influence of immigrants over the "ancient nation" was bewailed then as now, but were not the fathers "immigrants"? Complaint was filed that the West would come east fifteen hundred miles to manage a thousand miles of Atlantic seaboard; yet what if the East now propose to go three and four thousand miles westward to manage six thousand five hundred miles of Pacific seaboard? The lament arose, nor has it wholly died away, that the proportional power in each of the original thirteen States was diminished by the

addition of new States. This is not kindly or generous or politic. The second son of Jacob lessened relatively the power of the first, but the twelve made a splendid family. The lament lacks the national air of "The Star-Spangled Banner." The "whirlwind from the West," so bemoaned, has become the most magnificent and well-regulated trade-wind of the world.

It is among the surprises, in the unfolding of our early history, to see with what struggle of study among statesmen, and in what blindness and often against what judicial opposition, the West has gained recognition as a part of the American unit, and the privileges and rights common to those who are born free and equal. One would not suppose that it would require seventy years for a United States jurisdiction to emigrate from tide-water to the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River; yet so long, and by painful stages and often with retreats followed by heroic advances, was the admiralty jurisdiction in the Supreme Court of the United States in going from salt water westward to fresh water; and so much has it cost the western part and now grand majority of the nation to conquer acknowledgment and place and equality before our Supreme bench and bar. The fact may be stated on this wise.

In the organization of our Government under the Constitution, English law became largely pattern and substance for American law, and in this way

the admiralty court was established in the young republic. This court had jurisdiction over maritime causes, both civil and criminal. Under the English scope of this court a maritime cause must arise on the open seas, not only off shore but beyond the mouths of rivers and creeks, and out on the open ocean. In 1789 Congress divided the country into districts, in each of which it established a court, and into these, by the Constitution and acts of Congress, came "all civil causes of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction."[1]

Following now the English pattern, where territory was so insular, and water commerce so almost wholly marine, and attempting to exercise the admiralty jurisdiction on a vast continent, and where fresh-water commerce was almost unlimited, grave difficulties arose. It will be considered that at that time American legislators and the bar and the bench had mainly English law to study, and many of the leaders had studied it in English schools. The transfer and adaptation, therefore, of the admiralty jurisdiction of Great Britain to a continent, and to a new and growing nation, were attended with obstacles of moment.

It was a long struggle among jurists to limit and define the locality where a maritime case could arise for admiralty jurisdiction. The English law and rulings of Parliament fixed this on the high seas. In 1825 our Supreme Court had so far out-

[1] Judiciary Act of 1789.

grown the English limits as to hold that wherever ocean-tides ebbed and flowed, up and down bays and straits, creeks and rivers, with water enough to take freight from and to the ocean, there admiralty jurisdiction would hold. This was a great departure from English law, and a great movement toward providing our river waters with maritime courts. The law was thus brought to the shore of the continent in its movement toward the west. The presence of tidal effect in a body of water, be it a bay, river, or water-way of any kind, made it possible for a case for admiralty jurisdiction. This was reaffirmed in the De Soto case in 1847 of a steamboat collision on the Mississippi above New Orleans, yet not above tidal influences. This reaffirmation was made at great cost of learning and study and argument.

But as yet all river and lake commerce in the West, beyond a marine tide, was beyond the reach and advantages of admiralty jurisdiction. The recognition of the growing, commercial, and opulent West, and the progress of laws into it to protect its fresh-water trade in the same way and to the same extent that salt-water trade was protected, was exceedingly slow. What saltness had to do with jurists and laws it is hard to divine.

After these decisions of the Supreme Court, and in 1845, Congress passed "an act extending the jurisdiction of the district courts to certain cases upon the lakes and navigable waters connecting

the same."[1] The cases were to be treated the same as if they were on the high seas or on the tide-waters. This was an immense gain for our inland and lake trade; and in a case arising under it in 1851 the court decided that the "admiralty and marine jurisdiction" given by the Constitution extends to our great interior seas, and is not limited by tide-water. It was not, therefore, till 1851 that the navigable fresh water of the West came into an equality with the salt water of the East in the interests of the commerce of the Union.

And still Western commerce was kept under intimidation. It was an agitated question whether admiralty jurisdiction extended also over rivers not connecting the Great Lakes; and whether it could cover cases arising where the navigation was not "between ports and places in different States and Territories," according to the words of the Congressional Act of 1845, but between ports within the same State, and unconnected with foreign commerce. On these points finally Mr. Justice Clifford eased the West, by ruling that neither the admixture of foreign commerce nor tide-water nor State lines limit admiralty jurisdiction. The navigation furnishing a case might be wholly within one State, as in a collision on the Alabama, whose navigable waters are wholly within that State, and where the collision occurred two hundred miles above tide-water. In this case Mr. Justice Clifford

[1] 5 U. S. Laws, 726.

went very far to place the West on an equality with the East in the rights of her commerce before the courts, where he ruled that so far as locality is concerned, admiralty jurisdiction is co-extensive with the navigability of an American river.

Other justices, as McLane, Nelson, and Daniel, however, still divided the court by insisting on tide-water limits and foreign or interstate commerce, as necessary to the founding of a case in admiralty jurisdiction; and it was not till 1868, in the case of the "Belfast," that the ruling of Mr. Justice Clifford superseded all previous adverse decisions, and placed the inland country of the Union, with all its lake and river commerce, on an equality with the tide-water sections before the courts of the nation.

In this protracted struggle of seventy years to assimilate the new West to the old East in a common judicial system, and to ignore the saltness or the freshness of water in the one fact that it could float American commerce, it is interesting to use a passage from Webster, as a side light cast on the scene: "Whoever would do his duty and his whole duty in the councils of this Government must look upon the country as it is, in its whole length and breadth. He must comprehend it in its vast extent, its novel character, its sudden development, its amazing progress, confounding all calculations, and almost overwhelming the imagination. . . . With us, at least in this part of the

country, navigation from the seas does not stop where the tide stops. Our ports and harbors are not at the mouths of rivers only, or at the head of the tides of the sea. Hundreds of miles, nay, thousands of miles beyond the point where the tides of the ocean are felt, deep waters spread out, and capacious harbors open themselves to the reception of a vast and increasing navigation."

It was in 1836 when Webster made these remarks on the Louisville Canal Bill before the Senate. It was in the exercise of much legal study and argument, eleven years later, that the Supreme Court reaffirmed the point beyond further question, that admiralty law could go up a river as far as the tide goes. So was this stately progress of the nation's will led off by a continental statesman into new lands and commercial openings, to be followed up and affirmed by our most conservative and authoritative tribunal. The final and total victory for the West came in 1868, when the full advantages of admiralty jurisdiction were extended over all American waters which were deep enough to float articles of trade.[1]

This tardy, reluctant, and almost protesting adjustment of the colonial and Atlantic States system to the new and magnificent interior was

[1] Wallace Reports, vol. vii. pp. 288, 639, 640; vol. viii. pp. 20, 25; vol. x. p. 563; vol. xi. pp. 24, 26; vol. xv. p. 384; vol. xvi. p. 531; vol. xxi. pp. 245, 286; vol. xviii. p. 304. American Law Review, vol. v.

not surprising. The young Republic had no right to expect any such growth as followed its foundation. The Old World, from which only the fathers could reason, furnished no precedent or warrant, and there is no probability that it ever will, of any such marvellous development. The East was as a young professional man fresh from the schools of the Old World and slow to venture beyond the note-books of the lecture-room. Our new population and institutions and wealth, before they passed the watershed of the great valley, suffered from this colonial and parental timidity. They who comfortably held the old homesteads could not put on the daring and originality of the more energetic and enterprising, who took the ox-team and pack-horse and disappeared on the Western trail, where the post-office addresses of their children were soon to be in cities of ten, seventy, and a hundred thousand people. As is apt to be the case in the family, the young West grew in years and experience faster than the parent East grew in the knowledge of it. Adaptation by the home government did not keep pace with "the sudden development, the amazing progress," which demanded it; and the civic oak planted by the fathers in the rock and ice of the East did not recognize promptly and take on gracefully the annular growths which the deep soil of the West forced on it when it was planted beyond the Alleghanies. The fathers were slow and resistant

in conceding the fact that fresh water might need lighthouses where cities to-day of one or two hundred thousand make ports for the commerce of the lakes, and where Chicago opens a harbor for a population nearly double that of Boston.

The same feelings of the East toward the West were developed in the struggles to build national and military roads into the new country. A chapter on this topic would be interesting and instructive in unfolding our general theme, but it is not needful. The apathy and neglect shown toward the nation of the future have been sufficiently illustrated.

The causes are not obscure. The magnificent West was totally beyond reasonable expectation or even imagination. Many of the statesmen-prophets, whose predictions we have embodied in our chapter on The Empire of the Future, had not then spoken; some of them were not born. Moreover, and more to the point, many formerly, as now, were more gifted for public service in memories and precedents than in anticipation.

The structure of a new nation is an experience so strange that the nation itself does not seem to catch up with the fact, and it moves on a little awkwardly, as a lad growing fast toward manhood does not become readily and easily familiar with his new years and added avoirdupois. The discovery has come dreamily to some that the West is a part of us and somewhat ponderous.

The feeling has been as constant as the growth of the nation into wild land, that the increase on the border was speculative and forced and overdone, and would be only temporary, with disastrous reaction. Yet the growth and the foreboding have moved off together, and each year has seen its new belt of settlements, and in the East a new set of prophets of evil. Since my border home was in Missouri in 1840 I have seen eight States and eight Territories added to the census list, each to the surprise of the Atlantic slope, untravelled and unstudied in the United States of America beyond the Mississippi. And, except in new civil divisions with new names, there is every probability that this enlargement of the nation, with the accompanying surprise and scepticism of the colonial section, will run for a century yet. Fortunately, in its immense preponderance of growth the new country some time since came into the mastery of its own destiny in civil affairs. As we were once hunting land in the great prairies of northwestern Iowa with a national man, and scholarly in statesmanship, he remarked: "We would move the capital over the Mississippi, out into the nation, but that it would cost two or three hundred millions, and now our war debt is heavy. We can do it any time." The remark was easy, and quite in keeping with our vastness of vision on those high prairies.

In the times now sketched it was a policy of the

North and East to admit to councils and confidence and honors only those who would sacrifice new growths in the West to old foundations in the East; but that was when Hercules was in his cradle. The scales of patronage and power and honors, however, turned slowly but permanently westward, and a singular reverse, typical of many, was witnessed in a convention at Cincinnati for the nomination of president and vice-president. A name much honored in connection with the highest gifts of the people was offered for the vice-presidency. When it was stated, on inquiry, that he had never visited the West, the name was dropped instantly and finally, thus illustrating, says a member of the convention, and my correspondent, "a growing sentiment among our people that if a man aimed at high political office, where the welfare and perhaps destiny of the country were to be placed in his keeping, he must have manifested enough interest in the country and its people to have at least visited the various sections, rather than spend his leisure time and money in extended visits and enjoyments of other countries."

"When they gain strength, which will be sooner than most people conceive," said Washington, speaking of the West. In view of what he saw and foresaw, he favored an exploration and study of the new country, development of it, and a sympathetic, affiliated cultivation of the mutual relations between the old and the new. The advice

of the eminent statesman as well as soldier was not well heeded and followed, perhaps because it was too general or universal. For we recall what Webster said of him at the centennial of his birthday: "Washington stood not only at the commencement of a new era, but at the head of a new world."

It is evident to all that the nation is moving west with the massiveness and grandeur of empire. In 1811 it was New England which said deploringly, "The old States sink." Very true; and the region beyond the Mississippi, then treated as an alien, now puts fifty-two representatives into Congress, against the twenty-six from the section which called her alien. The depression of the old thirteen is only relative; and what continental American does not forget provincial comparisons in national exaltation! It was the grand eminence and pivot of success in the dubious struggle for the union of the colonies, when Patrick Henry rose to the exigency of the occasion by saying, "The distinctions between Virginians, Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers, and New Englanders are no more. I am not a Virginian, but an American." [1]

The time for comparisons and rivalries and jealousies is gone by. With her acres and natural resources, and votes and wealth, and wonderful increase in population, and with pre-eminently her

[1] Frothingham's Rise of the Republic of the United States, p. 400.

young energy, the West can take care of herself. Fortunate is the aspirant for national honors who is born west of the Alleghanies; and if he has failed of this he is wise in recovering from the political misfortune by extensive travel at home.

It is to be regretted that benevolent wealth, moving off voluntarily and divinely, like the gifts of God, has not kept the educating and Christianizing forces abreast of the financial and civil, in their westward progress. As a general thing, the hand-to-hand collections for such purposes have gone to new fields, while the princely gifts and the legacies have stopped in old fields near home, to enrich or embellish institutions already strong, and to lay more foundations, where they already are close neighbors to each other. If educating and Christianizing funds had been invested with the forethought which determines a good financial investment, — where the greatest possible income is sure, — more money, in benevolent channels, would have gone over the Alleghanies and the Mississippi. It would not be difficult to satisfy a board of Wall Street and State Street men, whether benevolent moneys should be invested in the East or in the West, for the highest dividends, on long time. Other things being equal, investments grow in proportion to the growth of population in the same place. Our last national census showed for the preceding decade an increase of eighteen per cent in the population of New England, New York,

New Jersey, and Pennsylvania — nine States — and an increase of thirty-four per cent in the northwestern — fourteen States — and of forty-eight per cent in the seven Pacific States. The Western increase is about double the Eastern, and the greater, the farther we go back in the decades. For results, a gift of ten thousand dollars for the West is equal to a gift of one hundred thousand for the East, so extensive and open and prolific are those new and unoccupied fields. Humboldt informs us that a follower of Cortez first sowed wheat in America. He had but three kernels to begin with, which he had found in their supply of rice, but he planted it in the right place. The crop or "dividends" in 1880 were 459,483,137 bushels.

CHAPTER XII.

THE RAILWAY SYSTEM OF THE WEST.

"IF there were to be no railroads, it was, on the whole, rather an impertinence in Columbus to discover America." The point is well taken by Gail Hamilton. The tide margins of the continent could provide for a belt of civilized homes, which navigation could encourage and utilize for the rest of the world, and steamers could do similar service along the banks of large rivers. All this, however, when best done, would leave the New World neglected in primitive nature. It might do for insular England, so threatened by salt water, but would not for Dakota, three times as large, and two thousand miles from the Atlantic Ocean.

In 1840 I had occasion to traverse somewhat the almost unbroken prairie country stretching away, ocean-like, from Chicago to Cairo. To the lone traveller in the saddle, with scant roads to guide or fences to check one, and a point of timber here and there, like a headland at sea, it was mostly *cœlum undique et undique campus.* The lonesome farms furnished magnificent livings in grains and

meats and vegetables, almost miraculous in the eyes of the immigrant from New England, where the very sure annual staples are rock and ice. Yet what was to be done with the "twelve baskets full of fragments" in Illinois? My friend in Sangamon County was feeding unthreshed wheat from the stack to his cattle and swine, rather than to thresh and haul it fifteen miles, and get but twenty-five cents a bushel for it: four years later it could command only that in Chicago. The lands loaded and drugged the market at a dollar and a quarter an acre; farm wages were ten to thirteen dollars per month, and board. Surplus products were exchanged — as oats, twelve cents a bushel; corn, fifteen; beef and pork, one and a half to two and a half cents a pound — for store goods, and these were taken, in exchange, at about double their prices in the East. On the Iowa shore of the Mississippi, in 1841–43, we found a belt of settlements inland for perhaps fifteen miles, log and some board cabins and houses, with the staples of life easy and abundant, and prices somewhat better than in the Illinois interior. The Indian and the buffalo had the prices of land and of food supplies quite their own way throughout the most of the Territory, and continued to do so till they heard the locomotive over the river eastward. There lies before me the first map of Iowa ever published — 1845. It shows thirty-one counties — there are now ninety-nine — clustering on the

Mississippi between the Des Moines and the latitude of Prairie du Chien. About eighty towns are located on this map, — Iowa now has fifteen hundred and seventy-eight post-offices, — and the most of them within a day's ride of the river. Nine of the counties do not show one town. The State embraces about fifty-six thousand square miles, and it would be difficult to find the same amount of land in one body in the world that can furnish more cereal and flesh food for the human family. Yet at the time here named, such was the condition of transportation between the East and the West, or between the supply and the world's market, that a bushel of wheat and an Eastern letter were at the same cost in Iowa, — twenty-five cents. The railroad had not then crossed the Mississippi. Now, postage there is two cents, and wheat from seventy cents to a dollar. The railroad has arrived in Iowa, seven thousand four hundred and seventy-eight miles of it.[1]

Illinois and Iowa are fair illustrations of all our Western States prior to the introduction of the railroad system. They, from the first, had their princely wealth in cereals and meats, as truly as in the mines, and each staple was awaiting equally development and a market. The wheat and the corn were in the loam, potentially and waiting, as

[1] Notes on Iowa Territory. With a Map. By Willard Barrows, United States Deputy Surveyor. Cincinnati, 1845.

really as the strata of coals and ores underneath. The great pine forests in Washington Territory were worth nothing, except enough for one house for a resident owner, till he could have transportation.

"Trees six and seven feet in diameter and two hundred to two hundred and fifty feet high are very common, perhaps rarely out of sight, in the forest in Washington Territory. Eight feet in diameter and three hundred feet high are rare, but still not at all uncommon. The builder of the telegraph line had hitched his wire, in one case, to a cedar which was fourteen feet in diameter. A monster tree that had fallen — the forests are full of fallen trees — measured three hundred and twenty-five feet long; and another tree at a distance of ninety feet from its root was seven feet in diameter." [1] An editor at Olympia informed the author in October, 1885, that they were preparing for the New Orleans Exposition a section from a Washington Territory tree nineteen feet in diameter.

The grains, meats, hides, ores, coals, timber, and wool have practically been waiting for their opportunity in the great North American West a thousand years. They were natural values, on deposit, without interest, and subject to draft for all the uses and profits of commerce. I was once offered very heavy timber-land on the head-waters of the

[1] Across the Continent. By Samuel Bowles. 1865. p. 206.

Connecticut for one dollar an acre, but only the bear and deer and myself seemed able to reach it. A railroad has since made it a piece of good property.

To state the case briefly, and then expand and illustrate it by items, the board of appraisers or of valuation for the United States consists of three, — the highway, the canal, and the railroad. Each rises in valuation on all real estate and local products within accessible distances; the railroads mark highest and last. What is not appraised, as in central Wyoming, where the United States have not yet surveyed the lands, as not yet in demand enough to be put on the market, up in Alaska on the Yukon, or out on the Aleutian Islands, has no nominal value, — that is, value which can be named. The timber, arable lands, fisheries, ores, and furs have the same natural value which they would have in central New York; but to assign to them convertible and commercial worth, this board of three United States appraisers must go on the ground and fix prices.

In early times our Eastern vessels went around Cape Horn to California for cargoes of hides, and agents contracted for the ship-load. "The number of cattle required might vary from a thousand to tens of thousands. In some instances they were corraled, and let out by tens and twenties, to be despatched with sledges, or by other methods. In later years they were sometimes felled in large

numbers by bullets, while grazing with the herd on the plains. The hides, tallow, horns, and hanks were preserved; but the carcasses were left either in piles or scattered over the plains, to dry away and disappear under the scorching rays of the sun. . . . The bones of the heads were sometimes used for the construction of fences around small lots in the vicinity of their dwellings. In one place, even to this day, there remains such a fence nearly two rods in length. The fence was of the thickness of two heads." Before the Missions were broken up by the Government, the padres, anticipating the confiscation of both lands and live-stock, slaughtered immense numbers of cattle. "It is estimated that in those three years there were sent from the Missions to the ports three hundred thousand hides with the tallow."[1]

But the railroad came in and appraised not only the hides and tallow and horns, but the beef and bones also, and even the hair, as worth transportation. After spending a month in 1885 on the ranches and ranges of Wyoming, the writer reads the above account from eastern California with commercial horror. Dana's "Two Years Before the Mast" furnishes a graphic detail of this incalculable waste on the Pacific coast, while that country was waiting for a government and our continental railways.

[1] History of California. By E. S. Capron, Boston, 1854. pp. 29–31.

The expenses for doing business beyond the plains and on the Pacific slope, before the Union and Central and the Northern and Southern Pacific roads were opened, left bulky goods, in the mountains and beyond, almost valueless to the East; while the necessaries to be carried West were placed almost above price by the cost of transportation.

In 1849, packages not exceeding fifteen pounds were carried by Adams & Co.'s Express from New York to San Francisco at the rate of seventy-five cents per pound. The charge was three dollars on an ordinary daguerreotype, and twelve dollars on a package the size of a common novel.

Julesburg is in Colorado, now a station on the Union Pacific, one hundred and thirty-nine miles east of Cheyenne. In 1864 there arrived at this shanty town, from the States, 3,574 wagons of freight, under guard of 4,258 men, and hauled by 28,592 animals. At that date Holladay's Overland Express had been under way two or three years, — started on a capital of $2,500,000, — and this year it was employing, between the Missouri and the mountains, 15,000 men, 20,000 wagons, and 150,000 animals, on a capital of $20,000,000. In 1864 it transported west 100,000,000 pounds of freight, and in 1865 double this amount, at a cost of fifteen cents to the pound. Bundles were charged seventeen cents a pound for every hundred miles, and passengers paid from thirty to fifty

cents a mile. Freights were from thirty-five to sixty days from the Missouri to Denver, while the stage made the same trip in six days. The next year (1866) Government paid this company $735,000 for carrying the mail and other Government matter.[1]

Indeed, Governor Stanford, of California, did not lift too soon that first spadeful of earth for the Pacific Railroad at Sacramento, in January, 1863. Yet this vast amount of merchandise, to be loaded and unloaded by human hands and hauled by animals, was as one solitary baggage-wagon compared with what those prairie and mountain and Pacific roads are now doing.

The railroad makes it possible to utilize natural values and convert them into property, and thus swell and lengthen all the channels of commerce. This is more evidently true in our new country, where natural resources are so much more abundant than in the old colonial States, and cover immensely more area. The great staples of life have their prices fixed by the railroad. The blank schedule of grains, meats, wools, hides, coals, ores, timber, and lumber does not have its column of prices filled until the railroad comes in.

The Illinois lands were as rich and as susceptible of their immense burden of agricultural products in 1850 as they were in 1880. At the former date the State had 46,208 farms; at the

[1] Overland Traction Engine Co. Report for 1865. p. 31.

latter, 255,741. A valid reason for both facts is not far to be found. It was not till 1842 that the Boston and Albany Road was opened to the Hudson, and not till 1850 that the sill and strap rail was removed from the track between Schenectady and Utica. Why should wheat and beef and pork be raised, and then stacked up in Illinois? It was not till 1851 that the cars could meet Western products on Lake Erie, and not till 1853 that Chicago saw a locomotive. What call was there for more farms in Illinois in 1850? If she would ship her supplies east by the Mississippi and Ohio she must haul them over the Alleghanies on the Portage Road, or store them three years at Wheeling, waiting for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad to open there in 1853. Illinois had had the first of prairie railroads in 1838, running from Meredosia to Springfield; but it proved a failure, and no wonder, for six inches of snow would stop its engine. General Semples afterward put tires two feet wide to the wheels of this locomotive, and attempted to run it here and there on the open prairie. The experiment was akin in wildness to the one with sails on the Baltimore and Ohio, and on the Charleston and Hamburg railroads, in 1830.

In 1880 Illinois had increased her number of farms from 46,208 to 255,741. Well she might, for it paid, since the State then had 7,955 miles of railroad, — one mile of road to every seven square miles of land. The farms must have been few on

which the whistle of the locomotive could not be heard, and often to take on wheat for England. Other things being equal, it pays to make grain and meat where the whistle of a locomotive can be heard. My friend need no longer feed his unthreshed wheat from the stalk, for a railroad now runs within sight of that farm.

When these railroads began to come into Illinois freely in 1861, the average value of land went up from five to fifteen dollars an acre, and in 1880 improved lands averaged from thirty to fifty dollars an acre; whereas, between 1840 and 1850, when the State had one railroad only, and it a failure, land loaded the market at Government price. At the same time (1880) the price of corn, beef, and pork had almost doubled, and wheat had gone up about threefold.

The reasons are obvious. The railroad is able largely to triumph over space between the producer and the consumer, and can create markets for the farmer. It is able to offer the Liverpool trade to the Dakota wheat-fields. By this interweaving of our own country with freight lines prices are equalized across the continent, and it is a matter of comparative indifference whether one's farm be west of the Mississippi or east of the Hudson. The price of grain is affected more by fifteen miles in a freight-wagon than by fifteen hundred miles in the cars. In the old times of the baggage-wagon between Buffalo and New York, the freight on a

barrel of flour was ten dollars; the Erie Canal reduced it to two dollars in 1825; and now the railroad reduces it to perhaps thirty-five cents. Or, to use terms in the official reports, in 1817 freight was one hundred dollars a ton from Buffalo to New York; in 1825 it was twenty dollars by Erie Canal; and now it is three dollars or so.

Nor is it too bold a figure of speech to say that the railroads create markets. In proportion as space and time are overcome by the locomotive, the opportunities for the sale of products, agricultural and mechanical, are brought nearer to the farm and factory and shop. With all our familiarity with the railway in this broad domain, having its right-angled diameters of two thousand and three thousand miles, we do not yet comprehend the unification and the centralization of our national industries and interests by the railway system. Steam can put all our marketable and movable products into one place in a few hours or days, thus maintaining a kind of equation of prices. So the railway forces of the North and the South and the East and the West, set over against each other, preserve an equilibrium in trade prices, as the opposite pivots of the mariner's compass keep it level and reliable on the roughest sea. Once on the car, any barrel of flour in the United States is within twenty possible days of the table of any man who lives on the railroad in this country. The greatest speed for any distance, so far as ap-

pears, is made by the New York and Chicago Limited, — 913 miles in 25 hours, or 35 miles an hour for consecutive hours; and no one conversant with the history and progress of mechanics will presume to say that the highest limit of train speed has been attained. This is practical annihilation of space and time to the producer and consumer. Gladstone raises some practical fears in his article of 1878 in the "North American Review," over the preservation of a fragmentary empire, like the British, in forty — and now, with Burmah, forty-one — isolated portions. In our broad territory the railway system unifies all our interests.

This statement may be extended to cover the United States and more or less of Europe. The prices of bread and meat supplies in Chicago affect those of Liverpool; and so much so, that within the last ten years Great Britain has been moved to turn one fourth of her wheat acreage to some other uses. In 1880 the United States exported $389,000,000 worth of grains, meats, and the products of the dairy. As this importation must tone down prices there on these articles, it must compel a reduction of the prices of lands and rentals. It would be no very strange thing, therefore, if the land question of Ireland and England and Scotland, so often and for so long time postponed in Parliament, should be forced to a settlement on our Western prairies. The locomotive and the steamship are forcing English and American lands into

juxtaposition. The New World has already done singular and surprising things for the Old World. In reality, and as among bottom forces, the United States introduced the English corn-law question and closed it in 1848. The world grows smaller, the Atlantic ocean narrower, St. Paul and London talk with each other hourly, and the human family, in its different branches, are coming to live nearer together, as in one city or block. The term "foreigner" is dying out, — the highways between the nations are so many and broad and inexpensive. An old advertisement of fares on emigrant placards in England told more than the passer-by read, — "London to Chicago, £6 8*s*." It will be wisely done, if Americans allow that term, "foreigner," to pass kindly and gently into disuse. Trade makes nations and laws, and one need not move long on the great channels of commerce, on either side of the ocean, to notice that there are no foreigners.

The acres and grains and meats and other supplies for human wants are coming nearer and nearer to the same prices in different cities, no matter what oceans or mountains lie between. All this was preordained when the locomotive first pulled out from Boston and Baltimore and Philadelphia, and when the first train of cars turned the pitch of the watershed on the Alleghanies and went "out West."

When those five shovelfuls of earth were thrown

up, as on July 4, 1828, for the Baltimore and Ohio, — the first passenger road in the United States, — by Charles Carroll, the only surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence, and for the first railroad in Ohio (1835), and for the first in Illinois, and for the Kentucky, Frankfort, and Lexington Road (both in 1838), deeds were done hardly surpassed by any industrial acts for the civilization of the world. When those last spikes were driven at the completion of the Union and Central Pacific railway and of the Northern Pacific, of the Southern and of the Mexican Central, the echo of the hammers and the salvos of artillery and the ringing of bells sent good news to man like "the shot heard round the world." The human race never before took so long a stride as when they then stepped over the Alleghanies and struck out for the Pacific. It was our hap to see the waving banners and to hear the glad shouts when men passed westward through Winnipeg — the old Fort Garry of the Hudson Bay Company — to drive the last spike for the Canadian Pacific early in November, 1885. Then another trunk road, believed to be the longest in the world, — 2,906 miles, — was completed, and North America was put under another bond to aid the interests and keep the peace of mankind. How different from the time when old Fort Garry was in its glory of solitude, and the largest monopoly, save one, in the world, held sway over territory "one third larger than all Europe, larger

than the United States of to-day, Alaska included, by half a million square miles."[1]

For nearly two hundred years that iron monopoly kept white men and civilization out of that vast region, only letting in a man with a steel trap to bring out a beaver for the company. Now worthy emigrants from Great Britain will go in freely by the ten thousand, and factories will take the place of steel traps around the waterfalls, and grain-fields will be opened up equal to three times the area of all England.

But this chapter has to do with the United States, and we return from abroad and into the West. The power of the railway system to develop a country, naturally inviting, is well illustrated in Missouri. At the opening of the civil war that magnificent and almost empire State of more than sixty-eight thousand square miles had only six hundred miles of railroad in operation; but at the return of peace it took a new departure. "Instead of numbering our railroads by a few hundred miles, they are counted by thousands of miles [1883]. In that part of the State north of the Missouri River there is not a single county which is not traversed by at least one railroad, and in many cases by many. South of the Missouri the supply of railroads is not so great, but yet it is very considerable. Instead of consum-

[1] Oregon: The Struggle for Possession. By William Barrows. Boston, 1885, p. 39.

ing a week to reach our great city from distant parts of our State, we can reach it from the same points in less than a day. Instead of having but one market, we have a multitude of markets; instead of being practically excluded from the world, many months every year, we are in constant intercourse with it every day, and I might say every night. Large and important cities have sprung up in our midst. The log-cabins of the farmer have been transformed into habitations of comfort, and often of elegance. Our public schoolhouses have been multiplied and enlarged, and in many cases students of these institutions are fitted for Yale and Harvard. The price of farm labor, which in 1860 was eight and ten dollars per month and less, is now fifteen dollars per month or more. The entire assessed value of the real estate in Missouri was, in 1860, $249,469,620.91; in 1880, $406,104,426."[1]

It should be considered that as late as 1850 there was not one mile of railroad west of the Mississippi River.

It has been stated that a railroad creates a market by shortening up time and space between producers and consumers, be it in agriculture or mechanics. Conjointly it stimulates production in sections naturally adapted to it, but formerly too distant from markets to make production profitable.

[1] The Railroad and the Farmer. By Hon. Edward Atkinson. 1883, p. 54. (In *Agricultural Review*, New York.)

In proving these two statements, a box of strawberries in Illinois will serve us equally as well as the Iron Mountain in Missouri, both waiting for cars. In June, 1869, the writer was visiting in Cobden, Illinois. The whole region was one vast fruit-garden, opened about ten years before, on the advent of the Illinois Central Railroad. There were peach-orchards of twelve thousand trees, and pear of twenty thousand, and strawberry-beds of half an acre to ten acres each, as also immense quantities of small berries and early vegetables. The principal markets were Chicago, 323 miles, Milwaukee, 408, Detroit, 610, sometimes St. Louis, 120 miles. There were special express fruit trains, and these delicacies from the earlier and "sunny South" were hurried north. The shipping clerk at the station furnished me these figures for the strawberry season of that year, nineteen days: 572,496 boxes, one quart each, equal to 17,890 bushels, forwarded. But for the railroad, only so many of these boxes would have been needed as would supply families and strawberry festivals in that border village.

In running down the Columbia River valley by cars, and up that river by steamer, in the autumn of 1885, our attention was called to immense salmon canneries on the banks; and to some huge fishing wheels or machines, projecting from the shore into the river. A leading operator in this interest informed me that during the current

salmon season, mainly June and July, he had put up a million and a half of cans. A can of salmon is one pound, and a case is forty-eight cans. Before the railroads were opened to the Pacific this branch of commerce was slight. In 1866 the product was only 4,000 cases, but in 1884 the number had gone up to 672,350 cases, which realized to the people more than three millions of dollars. "The foreign demand has become a settled fact, and Oregon canned salmon is being used in nearly all civilized countries as a daily article of diet. . . . Since the opening of the Northern Pacific, fresh salmon are exported to the Eastern States in refrigerator cars, — an export, although it bids fair to increase each year, which can only be conducted at each season for two or three months."[1] All the United States to the eastward of the Rocky Mountains is supplied with the canned salmon; while Australia, England, and other European markets are extensive customers, and the business is thought to be capable of great expansion.

It is not necessary to schedule and tabulate all the commercial interests on our northwest coast, which the railroad has created or caused to be developed, in order to show the relations of the railroad in our new country to national growth. The brevity to which we are constrained compels to

[1] Progress of the State of Oregon and of the City of Portland, from 1870 to 1885. By William Reid. 1885.

the presentation of the topics by glances. It is due largely to the introduction of railroads into Oregon that the State had, in 1880, a population of 144,000, and farm value to the amount of $56,000,000; manufactured goods for the year preceding amounted to almost $11,000,000, and 1,782,537 head of live-stock. Similar showing might be made for all the States between the Pacific and the Alleghanies; each was born of the railroad system, as one of the forces in the leading nations of the world. When Chicago had but one mail a week, in 1834, which was all it needed, the United States was quite in the rear among the nations. In 1880, Mulhall, comparing the nations and speaking of the industries of the world, says: "At present Great Britain holds the foremost place, but the United States will probably pass us in the ensuing decade." [1] In the matter of wealth it stood at the head of all the nations.

It is the locomotive which has hauled up the United States to the front in the procession of the nations. In his reports on the International Exposition at Paris, in 1867, Michel Chevalier uses this remarkable expression: "It seems that the supreme authority is about to escape from western and central Europe, and to pass to the New World."

We recur to the railroad creation of markets and the utilization of neglected values. In 1870 I was

[1] Balance Sheet of the World for Ten Years, — 1870–1880, pp. 3, 41.

over the Kansas Pacific, — the year of its opening to Denver. At Salina we spent the night where cattle were waiting by the ten thousand to be sold and shipped East. Owners and purchasers and cowboys thronged the station, and the herds covered the prairie in all directions toward the horizon. How those ranch-men of old, Abraham, and Lot, and Jacob and his twelve cowboys, "whose trade had been about cattle from their youth," would have enjoyed that day and night at Salina, Kansas!

The road was said to be under contract to ship East seventy thousand head between June and December of that year. Some of those herds were said to have been on the trail six months. They came from the Indian Territory and the extremes of Texas, and from ranches and ranges where New and Old Mexico border on each other, — drives of five hundred, eight hundred, and even a thousand miles. A few years before, there was not a mile of railroad west of the Mississippi to help on a steer toward his slaughter; and at that long distance from a meat market and a tannery, he was not worth the stripping of his hide. As we have seen, they were worth only that in California in those days, though near to shipping ports. Now, by our railway system, those unlimited American pastures, in which England could be secreted, have been placed, if we may so illustrate, just back of the abattoirs of Kansas City and St. Louis and Chicago and Brighton.

A month among the cattle and horse and sheep ranges in Wyoming, in the autumn of 1885, and again in 1887, furnished a good sample of this great American industry, and the wealth which lies in it. Areas of natural pasture we passed over, where ample counties of New England could be placed in tier right and left and in front to the horizon; and beyond it another tier, and so on, — for Wyoming is as large as twelve States like Massachusetts, though it has a large per cent which cannot be grazed. However, its river valleys and mesas and natural parks in the mountains are immeasurable for a month in the saddle. Its natural grasses, it is claimed, make better beef than grain-feeding in the East. Of the 197,497 head, purchased in one year by one cattle-dealer in Chicago, and for which he paid more than thirteen million dollars, very few would know grain by sight or taste. In cattle, Wyoming leads nine of the United States, west of the Mississippi, and railroads on the three sides of the Territory make a market accessible. But in riding over those pastures, limited somewhat by snow-peaked mountains, but more by the horizon, and seeing herds from one thousand to thirty thousand, it was painful to think how through centuries the country had lain waste, and a hungry world had waited for the locomotive to go in and bring out beef. The ranch and range area of our country is about forty-four per cent of the whole, excluding Alaska,

and lies in fifteen States and Territories. Abroad it would cover Great Britain and Ireland, France, Germany, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Austria, Hungary, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and one fifth of Russia in Europe, combined. One is pardonable for being sceptical over this statement. The railroads are in good progress toward making this once immense waste land serviceable to mankind, and many of the 49,417,782 head of cattle which were on it in 1884 are already on the way to the great meat markets of America, and to family tables on both sides of the Atlantic.

The increase of railroads and of agricultural products in the United States has moved off into our new country with an even pace, and indeed the evenness is remarkable. The number of miles of new road each year is inevitably followed by a proportional increase in the tonnage of products put on the market. A glance at Poor's Railway Manual, and the census returns and tabulated market reports for our national centres, will make this evident. In 1880 there were exported $389,000,000 in value of grains, meats, and dairy products. How impossible to have brought so much from inland to tide-water by the old methods, by horse and wheel and boat, and how senseless in the producers to have produced it for export! That year the tonnage of wheat alone raised in the country was seventy millions. The idea of its movement to a market in the old ways would have been a com-

mercial absurdity; but it is now carried as flour a thousand miles, at a cost of from five to seven dollars a ton. In other words, a barrel of flour can be carried from Minneapolis, where they can manufacture twenty-seven thousand barrels a day, to New York, for a price varying from fifty cents to seventy-five. And it is stated on good authority that during the last twenty years no prices, in leading interests, have fallen like those of transportation; so that it is said that his fair wages for one day will freight to his depot the supplies of a a laboring man for a year. His breakfast and dinner and supper and household comforts are brought to his family door at very low rates, and where Vanderbilt gains his penny by the transportation, the workingman gains fifty or a hundred. With many in New England the memory is still fresh, when the great sleigh, with its load of beef, pork, poultry, butter, cheese, and oats, glided from the hills over snow-banks to go "below." After ten days, or twenty of them, it returned with West India goods and groceries, cottons, cloths, and prints. The "good old times" returned, as some sigh for them, would put the old sleigh on the road again, and there would come back in it what we saw in the stores in the Aroostook twenty-five years ago, — hand-cards and flax-wheels and the family loom.

The sighing for other days to come back, and the mourning of the aged, and of the fossil young,

over sad and degenerate changes, usually gives amusement in quiet. Every age has it, and every improvement is admitted with regrets and under protest. In 1673 there was published "The Grand Concern of England Explained." It gravely shows the miseries and trials, and the ruin of trade, occasioned by the invention and use of coaches.

For the present, and for a long time to come, in the United States, it cannot be a question of production of the cereals, meats, and articles of heavy manufacture, for which we have the raw material in the natural state and in great abundance, but it will be a question of transportation and delivery. The annihilation of space and time will continue and probably be intensified, and our broad domain will become more and more as one place for the market of our products with one price. During the last ten years the cost of distribution by the longer and combined railroads has been reduced one half, and we are warranted in hoping for increased reduction.

Probably not more than one sixth of our arable land is yet under the plough, so that we may anticipate not only a continuous but large expansion of the railway system. Mr. Atkinson, in his admirable pamphlet above quoted, estimates that within the present century the development and wants of the country will demand and add about one hundred and twenty thousand miles more to the present system of railroads. As our growth in

the line of new settlements, agriculture, and manufactures has usually exceeded even ardent predictions, the above estimate will probably prove to be moderate if not timid, compared with final fact.

Nor let it be supposed that these anticipations and predictions rest wholly in the region beyond the Mississippi. It is thought that a region could be outlined with a centre in the Cumberland Mountains, and margins running into Virginia, the Carolinas, Alabama, Tennessee, and Kentucky, embracing several fold more wheat acreage than Great Britain, and quite as good, not to mention its adaptation to the production of tobacco, hemp, corn, cattle, horses, and mules. Of the mineral resources there but little is known, yet enough to establish large expectations in the line of coal, iron, copper, and salt. The area might be as large as Great Britain and Ireland, — one hundred and twenty thousand square miles. This region is but little known, sparsely populated, and the inhabitants of one half of it are so isolated that they are said to be clothed in homespun and have yet to see the first wheeled carriage and locomotive. Probably by many American travellers the Swiss mountains are much better understood than the Cumberland, and the railroad has yet much to do in exploring and opening up our own country to our own people.

This steady growth of the railway system into

our new territory is an exceedingly interesting manifestation of modern civilization, and a few diagrams of its progress would be impressive. Let them indicate the movement of railroads westward from the Alleghanies to the Pacific in periods of ten years each, beginning with 1840, when the locomotives were taking first looks into the great West. A skeleton map with state boundaries, principal rivers, and the railway growth for each successive period of ten years — four periods down to 1880 — would be a surprising story and study east of the Alleghanies, and especially east of the Hudson. Each decade should be marked in different colors. No large portion of the world ever took on so great a change in four successive decades.

How like some living thing this railway creature has rushed off into space, this way and that, across plains, over rivers, and through mountains, reaching out with its tentacles, feeling for a way and a place, and making fast. One cannot avoid thinking of the simile of Ezekiel, when in his vision he saw the living creatures on wheels. At first "a whirlwind came out of the north, a great cloud, and a fire infolding itself. And the creatures went every one straight forward. Whither the spirit was to go, they went; and they turned not when they went. Their feet were straight feet. The spirit of the living creature was in the wheels; and the living creatures ran and returned

as the appearance of a flash of lightning." Did Ezekiel ever see a locomotive ?

One must not be sceptical over the continuance of this settlement of wild country, and development of its resources, and consequent supply of the markets of the world. Five sixths of the arable land of the United States is yet waiting for the plough. Vast tracts, once called desert, wait only for irrigation, to be ploughed; and when the Government organizes a water system, as it has a land system, it will be found that, with rainfall and rivers, the land and the water of our country are in fair proportions. The Missouri, the Colorado, and the Columbia, starting near together, central for the regions needing irrigation, and ten thousand feet above tide-water, may be, and yet will be, made to do much in wetting this country. Already the Western farmer, with this process and that, and this product and that, has driven the Great American Desert from our school geographies. "Whither the spirit was to go they went, and they turned not when they went;" and the doomed lands of Pike and Long and Hazen, not farmers but soldiers, are controlling the prices of meats and breadstuffs in foreign markets.

Moreover, the United States has the multiplying population and the national policy to continue this wonderful development. In the decade ending with 1879, our increase in population was 11,920,000.

A few comparisons will aid in forecasting our growth by showing how largely the chances are with us. Leaving out Alaska from the United States, and Russia and Turkey from Europe, let us set in contrast in several particulars the two countries. As to area, the United States has two square miles to Europe's one, as above reduced, while the arable land in the two is equal. Europe has one hundred and forty-five persons to the square mile, and the United States about sixteen. The debt of Europe averages to the individual (1880) $74.64, and that of the United States, $36.85. Since 1848, when the United States had comparatively no debt, the European has increased threefold, and is still increasing. In 1866 our war debt averaged $83.35 to a person, but in 1880 had been reduced to the above figures. The national expenditures in Europe averaged $10.15 to the person, and in the United States, $5.35. Taxes on the earnings of the people in Italy, France, and Great Britain averaged twenty per cent, and in the United States nine and one fourth. In Europe, one man in five of all fit to bear arms is a soldier in active service, and in the United States, one in four hundred. In the army and navy of Europe there are, in camp and barracks and on shipboard, 2,100,000 able-bodied men. These are not producers, and so not only detract so much from the producing forces of these European nations, but consume the labors of very many in

their support. The standing army of the United States is twenty-five thousand only. While the war policy and the war footing of these European states withdraw so much from their progressive force, the United States, with her peace policy and small army, is left quietly to develop the continent and enlarge the nation. If they go to war, and we continue at work, who can doubt our continued progress, in which Gladstone said we were passing Great Britain "in a canter"?

Some per cents of growth given in the census of 1880 are worthy of grateful memory. In the decade of 1870–1880, New Mexico had increased 30 per cent; Nevada, 47; California, 54; Utah, 66; Montana, 90; Oregon, 92; Texas, 94; Idaho, 117; Wyoming, 128; Kansas, 173; Washington, 214; Nebraska, 268; Arizona, 319. These figures warrant some ardent anticipations for the census of 1890.

There is no one power in the country which carries civilization so fast, and disseminates it so widely, as the railroad. In 1870 the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé was open as far as Las Animas, in Colorado, and it was exceedingly interesting to study the effects of its advent. It began at once to reconstruct the plan of the old Mexican town, with its streets and lanes beginning anywhere and ending nowhere, in vanishing lines. Its only feature, evidently designed, was its *plaza*, or atomic centre and original camping-

ground, from which the town had been evolved, as in a spider's web. The engineers and locomotive marked out the first straight line in Las Animas; and the village, when we were there, was trying to make other straight lines, and right angles, and fronts to the houses, adapted to the railroad, the regenerator. This movement was compelling obvious and sometimes violent distinctions between front and back yards; also producing some wooden houses among the adobes. It does not often happen that the traveller can see the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries so blended in one village, and so struggling together for the mastery. Chairs, ploughs, and bedsteads had arrived from the States, and some wheels which had spokes and iron tires. The great American time-keeper had arrived, the locomotive, and the natives were awkwardly getting used to it. They had been living on the time-table introduced into New Spain by Cortez and Coronado, which was exact enough to recognize sunset and sunrise. In later excursions we found that this road had gone along to Pueblo and Santa Fé and Albuquerque and El Paso, running vigorously there into the Europe of the sixteenth century, and working revolution enough to haul in the nineteenth century. It had introduced the kitchen from the North, to the bewilderment of men and women; and we shall not soon forget with what satisfaction and idea of advancing civilization a

gentleman at Albuquerque showed us through his new adobe, ornamented with cabinet furniture, upholstery, and all that and all that, from the States. He had, indeed, the white elephant of the old Aztec country. This must not seem so strange in the rising man, for as late as 1846 the adobe palace in Santa Fé was said to be the only building in New Mexico which had window-glass.

Not only has the railroad system been the great, if not the greatest, civilizing means and power in our new and wild country, but it is the binding power for the union of the States. It may be gravely doubted whether sixty millions, so free in all their civil action, and so widely scattered, could be kept willingly under one government without easy and speedy intercourse through all sections.

Moreover, the railway system makes it impossible that any one point in the country should be fatally vulnerable to the whole. Such a body politic as ours has no heel of Achilles. It was before we had railroads that Jefferson said so wisely in a letter to Livingstone, at Paris, in 1802: "There is on the globe one single spot, the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans, through which the produce of three eighths of our territory must pass to market; and from its fertility it will ere long yield more than half of our whole produce, and contain more than half of our inhabitants."

Jefferson had heard with regret and anxiety that France had recovered her ancient Louisiana. But with railways radiating from that fertile valley to each ocean, the Lakes and the Gulf of Mexico, his anxieties would be readily abated, since they could concentrate the strength of the whole nation at the most needy point. To be of one mind and under one law, statesmen, business men, scholars, and educators need to meet and know each other, see face to face that they have one interest, and so come to a union in purposes and plans and action. When a country, under one government, is too large to have national men, it is too large for prosperity and perpetuity. When John Bright was discussing the question of Canadian fortifications in the House of Commons, in 1865, he spoke of Englishmen as a people "who appear to have more sense the farther they go from their own country." He might safely have extended that remark to all who speak English. Calhoun's life worked in three centres, — his home in the hill country of South Carolina, luxurious and aristocratic Charleston, and Washington. The first two places were all of our country which he could carry to the third. Hence the able provincial was unfortunate in his lack of travel, and as narrow as he was strong in his sectional movements. Randolph well states the case of so many radical and provincial extremists in the North and in the South:

"With regard to the battle cry of 'State Right,' seven tenths of the voters of the North hardly know what a Southern man means when he pronounces the words. Thus we presented to the world the curious spectacle of a people so ignorant of one another, so little homogeneous, that nearly all on one side of an imaginary line were willing to risk their lives for an idea which the inhabitants on the other side of the line not only did not entertain, but knew nothing about."

It now seems very strange to us that Massachusetts should have instructed her representatives in Congress in 1813 to ask for the repeal of the bill which admitted the State of Louisiana to the Union the preceding year; but Louisiana then was as far off as China is to-day. The trip from Boston to New York required more time and discomfort than the one now to San Francisco. Travellers were called at three in the morning, and with a farthing candle and horn lantern got under way, and toiled over miserable roads till ten at night. The use of his shoulder or a rail by the passenger to pass a quagmire is no original custom of the Western prairie. Like so many of their hardy virtues and practices for hard places, our frontier men inherited them from New England. If the travellers were fairly fortunate they would arrive in New York on the sixth or seventh day out of Boston.[1]

[1] Life of Josiah Quincy, by Edmund Quincy, pp. 47, 48. See also "Recollections of Samuel Breck," who says, "I have my-

On one occasion, and about the time when Massachusetts was moving this action on Louisiana, Mr. Quincy spent a month in his own carriage in going from Boston to Washington. In those times the rates of public conveyance over the Alleghanies was forty miles in twenty-four hours, and the round trip between Cincinnati and New Orleans was about six months. A Russian post in Siberia is to-day no farther from Massachusetts than Louisiana then was. As to travel in earlier days a friend gives me this interesting note. On the first of May, 1819, a near relative of his family, Mr. John Shackford, left Portsmouth, N. H., for St. Louis, Mo. "He had a big strong stage wagon, with three seats and an open front, and a pair of horses. The load consisted of himself and wife, an adult female friend, with four children, from two to eight years of age, and several trunks. The route was direct as far as practicable across the country to St. Louis, but subject to many delays, with so heavy a load, bad roads, and a single team, to make the entire distance. The actual travel fell between sixty and seventy days."

It was this distance and inaccessibility of the Southwest from New England, which make some views and remarks of Eastern men in those earlier

self been nine days going from New York to Boston" (pp. 90–99, 100–103, 271–273). And more generally on travel in those times, see "Letters of Aaron Burr to his Wife," and "Life of Benedict Arnold."

days surprising and amusing, and always pardonable.

Only railroads were needed to convert such fears into glowing visions, which to-day are realized in grand national facts. The Baltimore and Ohio, the Louisville and Cincinnati, the Chicago, St. Louis, and New Orleans, — these or other roads have put Louisiana and the mouth of the Mississippi and the Missouri nearer to Mr. Quincy's old home than New York was when he so eloquently expressed his anxieties. The revolution in travel and the condensation of the country by steam have been wonderful, and beyond the comprehension of business men born since those days; and the opposition to the revolution and condensation was equally wonderful. Of the scheme for the Boston and Albany Railroad, the "Boston Courier" says: "A project which every one knows, who knows the simplest rules of arithmetic, to be impracticable." And as late as 1842 the town of Dorchester voted: "That our representatives be instructed to use their utmost endeavors to prevent, if possible, so great a calamity to our town as must be the location of any railroad through it; and if that cannot be prevented, to diminish this calamity as far as possible," by locating it along the marsh.

Webster, when speaking in the Senate in 1838, on Pre-emption, said: "Of the Southwest I know but little." When, however, nine years later, he

was making remarks at the New England dinner in Charleston, South Carolina, he expressed these very excellent views: "I concur with you cordially, gentlemen, in the sentiment that mutual intercourse strengthens mutual regard, and that the more citizens of different parts of the country see one another, the more will asperities be softened and differences reconciled." [1]

It is to be deeply regretted that such intercourse between the North and the South could not have been had all through the first half of the present century. Possibly some other intercourse would have had its asperities softened if not wholly prevented by it. In the introduction to Webster's "Southern Tour," 1847, the editor remarks that "the receptions were rendered peculiarly interesting by the unusual nature of such an occurrence as the visit of a highly distinguished New England statesman to the South." That lack of intercourse was no good omen for the interests of either section, or of the whole country. Yet the breadth of domain and the infelicities and sometimes impossibilities of travel kept the North and the South and the East and the West in great ignorance of one another. Happily for the immensity of the public domain those obstacles are now removed, and one may reach any of the great centres between the two oceans, and the Canadian and Mexican borders, in six or eight days. The

[1] Webster's Works, vol. ii. p. 376.

harmony and strengthening and prosperity of the Union lie in this speedy and easy travel between all parts of it.

The outlook for the United States would be better, let it be added, if there were more home travel by her citizens. Scholarly pursuits of ancient and foreign history, and pleasurable rambles in foreign climes, add an estimable charm to companionship and general society; while statesmanship and serviceable citizenship call for the ornament and the strength which come from personal knowledge of one's own land. The American exchange at London reports astonishing expenditures in Europe by Americans. Basing the estimate on letters of credit to European banking-houses, the number of travellers from America has been marked as high as sixty thousand in one year, and their expenditure as high as one hundred and eighty million dollars, — probably an overestimate.

An extract will not be out of place here from a letter of Washington to the tutor of young Curtis, Washington's step-son, when the question of foreign travel by him was under consideration: "It is to be expected that every man who travels with a view of observing the laws and customs of other countries should be able to give some description of the situation and government of his own." [1]

[1] Irving's Life of Washington, vol. i. p. 367.

This sixty thousand might perhaps furnish a select audience of such of their number as have not been a thousand miles from home in their own country, to hear what the Rev. Dr. Bushnell says: "The sooner we have railroads and telegraphs spinning into the wilderness, and setting the remotest hamlet in connection and close proximity with the East, the more certain it is that light, good manners, and Christian civilization will become universally diffused."[1]

It is thought and hoped that the railroads of the country will have no little to do in harmonizing the theological sects, and so in economizing the religious and financial forces of the church in the United States. The religious wars by the sword in olden times, and those by the pen then and now, have come more from the cloister and priest and divine, than from the wide observations of life, or from diverse causes among ordinary and good people. Men, religious, so-called, have quietly, and in the solitariness of study, run their thoughts along in the lines of musty parchment or of letter-press, and have framed and mastered sentences, and then marshalled them into polemical theology, and so led to the organization of denominational skirmishers. Hence the wars of the phrases and of the paragraphs, which waste so much good feeling and strength and sacred money, ink, paper, and type. These struggles

[1] Barbarism the First Danger, 1847.

come on the battlefields of belief, not of life. If reverend and cloister and lecture-room dogmatists had moved freely and frequently and observingly among the people who are living a Christian and exemplary life, they could not have organized the sects from any differences in their living. It is a catechism, and not difference in Christian life, which starts theological campaigns, and makes great church expenses for holy wars. Travel among other religious bodies, and candid, domestic observation on their religious life, broadens and softens the local and the provincial religion. This travel and these observations are apt to slip one's theological phrases and devout mannerisms out of the quotation marks in which one has received them by inheritance. He is exposed in travel to doing his own thinking and expressing, which is always dangerous to religious sects created by phrase-makers among people who are living the same Christian life.

We therefore give the hand of Christian fellowship to the locomotive as a peacemaker between religious denominations, in harmonizing and economizing Christian forces. It brings new currents of thought to the cloister, hangs new pictures of holy faiths and life in the galleries of the old masters, and reveals a Christian kinship broader than any holy league and covenant. The railroad does vastly more than to work for commerce and dividends and civilization. It is an evangelist.

California and Oregon and Washington would have been an impossibility without our Pacific railways. A quick circuit of thought and feeling between the old Atlantic and the new Pacific homes was a demand as inexorable as a necessity of nature. The new West, to thrive, must have the footsteps and voices of the old homestead as next-door neighbors. The early French and Spanish colonies in America pined and dwarfed by isolation; and those splendid Dutch and Christian farmers contemporary with the New England fathers degenerated into the present semi-civilized Boers of South Africa, because they lost contact and close communication with the fatherland. With education and Christianity coming tardily to the rescue of cities and villages springing from gold mines, the railway is their greatest hope for law, order, equity, morality, and more than all for the recognized and sanctified home of marriage, without which there is no civilization. For all the high and noble ends of society a bonnet is more than a gold mine.

The social and moral and religious benefits of our flowing together are already happily obvious in a thousand modern ways of union where theology gives place to religion, and living is more than believing. A railroad between Jerusalem and Samaria would be a wonderful aid for the passengers and freight in the great business and commerce of godliness. Voltaire puts the point

well in his definition of an educated man, — and we would include religious, — as "one who is not satisfied to survey the universe from his parish belfry." We assent to the text of this chapter: "If there were to be no railroads, it was, on the whole, rather an impertinence in Columbus to discover America."

CHAPTER XIII.

THE EMPIRE OF THE FUTURE.

IN 1849 the Sons of New Hampshire held a great festival in Boston. Of course, Webster was the orator. Referring to our country, in its present attainments and prospects, he said: "With regard to this country, there is no poetry like the poetry of events, and all the prophecies lag behind the fulfilment." And rounding up a glowing anticipation of our future, he remarked: "The prophecies and the poets are with us." These are not merely rhetorical ornament, introduced to grace an oration, but they set forth a grand fact in our history. The auguries of a growing and grand future for the United States need not be regarded as dreamy and visionary. They are more like logical deductions from our history, where the reasoning compels us to anticipate. These prophecies of coming empire are not so much drawn from visions of a future, which a warm imagination has peopled, as from a past, which the energies of a young nation have filled up with seminal and germinant facts. In such case what we call prophecy is akin to inference. So Webster, in his address delivered at the laying

of the corner-stone of the addition to the Capitol, July 4, 1851, called the noted prophecy of Bishop Berkeley "the result of long foresight and uncommon sagacity." One line will bring the prophetic poem to mind: —

> "Westward the course of empire takes its way."

Seeing room for continued growth, and no fair reason for discontinuance, the assumption of the continuance of the previous order is not so much the work of a seer as of a philosopher. Milton says it well: —

> "That old experience does attain
> To something like prophetic strain."

In this chapter, therefore, on The Empire of the Future, attention is not called to poetic and visionary indulgences of enthusiastic men, but rather to the reflections and inferences and expectations of cool, studious, and reasoning men. The authors whom I am about to quote, excepting a cluster of poets, had been accustomed to pay much attention to the established order of things, where cause and effect commonly warrant the continuance of a long established order. A prophecy, strictly speaking, is of divine inspiration, and totally above human and logical deduction. These opinions or judgments, which we call prophecies by accommodation, are as when one studies carefully the head-waters of the Missouri and Mississippi, and then says, there must somewhere and

sometime be a bay or grand outlet, such as we call the Gulf of Mexico.

Some earliest poets on the New World, quite as indefinite in their predictions as was the New World, geographically, when they wrote, we pass along in a cluster. It was in 1595 when Chapman, the Greek scholar, foretold coming empire in America, after this strain: —

"Guiana, whose rich feet are mines of gold,
. . . . . .
Stands on her tiptoe at fair England looking.
. . . . . .
And there do palaces and temples rise
Out of the earth, and kiss th' enamour'd skies,
Where new Britannia humbly kneels to Heaven."

Samuel Daniel, poet-laureate to Elizabeth, proud of his mother tongue, and ambitious to hear it on as many human lips as possible, thus utters his prophetic anxieties: —

"Who in time knows whither we may vent
The treasures of our tongue? To what strange shores
This gain of our best glory shall be sent,
T' enrich unknowing nations with our stores?
What worlds in the yet unformed Occident
May 'come refined with th' accents that are ours?
Or who can tell for what great work in hand
The greatness of our style is now ordained?" [1]

Contemporary with Milton, but the opposite in the warm politics of that day, and partaking of the

[1] Anderson's British Poets (Musophilus), vol. iv. p. 217.

mixed patronage and neglect of Charles II., was Cowley, the botanical poet. In 1667 he set forth, in Latin, his "History of Plants," a poem in six books. He thus prophetically addresses the New World: —

> "Meanwhile your rising glory you shall view:
> Wit, learning, virtue, discipline of war,
> Shall for protection to your world repair,
> And fix a long illustrious empire there.
> Your native gold (I would not have it so,
> But fear th' event) in time will follow too.
> Oh, should that fatal prize return once more,
> 'T will hurt your country, as it did before!" [1]

Sir Thomas Browne, born two years before the planting of the Jamestown Colony, ranks high among the leading thinkers of his times. He presumed to indulge in prophesying under the title itself: "A Prophecy concerning the Future State of Several Nations;" and Dr. Johnson, in his Life of Sir Thomas, says that he makes the expectation plain in his Prophecy "that America will be the seat of the fifth empire." The Prophecy is an interpretation or paraphrase of some verses which the author professes to have received from a friend. Possibly the text is of his own inspiration, that he might have something conveniently arranged on which to spread out his own expectations. Commenting on the verses, he says that when New England has so increased "that the neighboring

[1] Anderson's British Poets (Cowley), vol. v. p. 373.

country will not contain them, they will range still farther, and be able in time to set forth great armies, seek for new possessions, or make considerable and conjoined migrations, and may not improbably erect new dominions in places not yet thought of, and yet for some centuries beyond their power or ambition." Enlarging and prolonging his vision to something of a continental scope, he proceeds to predict that "when America shall be better civilized, new policied, and divided between great princes, it may come to pass that they will no longer suffer their treasure of gold and silver to be sent out to maintain the luxury of Europe and other ports, but rather employ it to their own advantages, in great exploits and undertakings, magnificent structures, wars, or expeditions of their own. . . . When America shall be so well peopled, civilized, and divided into kingdoms, they are like to have so little regard for their originals as to acknowledge no subjection unto them: they may also have a distinct commerce themselves, or but independently with those of Europe."[1]

Very near the close of the seventeenth century (1697) Samuel Sewall wrote on the New Heaven and the New Earth. He was a Judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, and at one time Chief Justice. He was of the court which condemned the witches, from which delusion he recovered, but never from the sorrow for their con-

[1] Sir Thomas Browne; Works, vol. iv. pp. 231–238.

demnation. Of the New England Colonies he says: "I can't but hope that the plantation has gained a very strong Crasis; and that it will not be of one or two or three centuries only, but by the Grace of God it will be very long lasting. . . . As one that has been born or has lived in America more than threescore years, it may be pardonable for him to ask, Why may not that be the place of New Jerusalem? . . . Mr. Eliot was wont to say the New English Churches are a preface to the New Heavens." [1]

About the year 1726 Bishop Berkeley was working over plans for a college in America. The study given to such a purpose and plan would naturally lead him to estimate the importance of the Colonies here, and to forecast their growth and ultimate place and power among the nations. Founding colleges is apt to lead one to those broad and long plans which run down the ages, and so endue one with forecast and prophecy. The Bishop's "Proposal" for his Indian College is a chapter of exceeding interest on "the Indian Question." [2] With an ardent and glowing mind he anticipated a magnificent future for the plantation in the New World, and turned prophet in certain celebrated stanzas, of which this is the last: —

[1] New Heaven and New Earth. Second Edition. Boston, 1727. pp. 1, 2.

[2] The Works of George Berkeley, D.D. Fraser's Edition. Oxford, 1871. vol. iii. pp. 215–231.

"Westward the course of empire takes its way;
The first four acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with the day;
Time's noblest offspring is the last." [1]

One George Webb, too much of a poet to be a scholar, quitted Oxford for the wilds of America, and in 1728 gave forth a couplet, for the preservation of which, or at least the publication, the world seems to be indebted to Franklin:-

"Rome shall lament her ancient fame declined,
And Philadelphia be the Athens of mankind."

This was evidently written in colonial days and on the border, for it has something of the poetic frenzy of the frontier, in cities which start like Jonah's gourd, but grow and endure like the oaks of Bashan, and promise to live like the cedars of Lebanon. And in the speech already quoted, Webster makes us familiar with another inspiring couplet from colonial days, all the more inspiring from his own rich setting of it: —

"In other lands another Britain see,
And what thou art America shall be."

It is quite a variation in our line of prophets from an Irish prelate and Rhode Island pilgrim to a French reformer. Marquis d'Argenson was of the Court of Louis XIV., and the companion of Richelieu, Voltaire, and Rousseau. The profound scholar in statesmanship, who wrote elaborately on

[1] Berkeley's Works, vol. iii. p. 232.

the political reconstruction of nations, especially France and Italy, sought the renaissance of Greece and the suppression of barbaric power in northern Africa by the union of the civilized powers of Europe in a Christian republic, and who correctly anticipated the decay of the Turkish Empire, would not be likely to leave America out of the scope of his vision. When he spoke, however, for the New World, some time between 1740 and 1750, France was the greatest claimant in North America; but within a decade or so of years she lost all her territory in it save three petty islands off Newfoundland.

After the following strain he utters his oracles, when he turns his face westward, in the course of Berkeley's Empire: "Another great event to arrive upon the round earth is this: The English have in North America domains great, strong, rich, well-regulated. There are in New England a parliament, governors, troops, white inhabitants in abundance, riches and mariners, which is worse. I say that some bright morning these dominations can separate from England, rise and erect themselves into an independent republic. What will happen from this? Do people think of this? A country well regulated by the arts of Europe, in condition to communicate with it by the present perfection of its marine, and which by this will appropriate our arts in proportion to their improvement. Patience! Such a country in several ages

will make great progress in population and in politeness [civilization]; such a country will render itself in a short time master of America, and especially of the gold mines. . . . And you will then see how the earth will be beautiful! What culture! What new arts and new sciences! What safety for commerce! Navigation will precipitate all the people toward each other. A day will come when one will go in a populous and well-regulated city of California as one goes in the stage-coach of Meaux." He was prepared to say these things after he had thoughtfully, and by geographical comparisons, made the remark, "What a small corner Europe has on the round earth!"

Here are several most wonderful facts published in advance of their existence. The "great event" came in two instalments, seventeen years apart, — the Plains of Abraham and Bunker Hill; "an independent republic" some bright morning for the nations; "the gold mines" in the hands of the new-born nation; and a San Francisco, suggestive of the comforts of old Meaux. The "several ages" of our prophet are run through in less than a hundred years. Before the round century was through, the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo had assigned the gold-fields of the Pacific to the independent republic, and San Francisco was founded for something better than the stage-coach of Meaux. Why exclude the other prediction from the prophetic

chapter? "Such a country will render itself in a short time master of America."[1]

Turgot followed close upon D'Argenson, and closed a career of reform as a statesman in advance of his age, two years before our era of peace opened with Great Britain. As early as 1750 he foresaw and announced the independence of the English colonies in America, and twenty years later he declared with much satisfaction that that separation "will be followed soon by that of all America from Europe." Of the young republic, as yet only in vision, he said: "It is the hope of the human race. It can become its model. . . . It must give the example of political liberty, of religious liberty, of commercial and industrial liberty."[2]

Of course John Adams speaks to the point in hand often and enthusiastically, yet always as a broad statesman. He opened his prophecies when only twenty years of age, and a schoolmaster. Referring to the arrival of the early colonists in the New World he remarked: "Perhaps this apparently trivial incident may transfer the great seat of empire to America. It looks likely to me."[3] This was in 1755. Ten years later the possibility has grown with his knowledge and patriotism and fervor: "I always considered the settlement of

[1] Prophetic Voices concerning America. By Charles Sumner. Boston, 1874. pp. 32–38.

[2] Ibid., p. 45.

[3] Works of John Adams, vol. i. p. 23.

America with reverence, as the opening of a grand scheme and design in Providence for the illumination of the ignorant and the emancipation of the slavish part of mankind all over the earth."[1] And in 1780: "America is most undoubtedly capable of being the most independent country upon earth. . . . Could undoubtedly maintain a regular army of twenty thousand men forever."[2]

When Minister to England, he wrote his "Defence of the American Constitutions," 1787, and in it says that the governments therein set forth "are destined to spread over the northern part of that whole quarter of the globe,"[3] — embracing the entire northern continent. "A prospect into futurity in America is like contemplating the heavens through the telescope of Herschel. Objects stupendous in their magnitudes and motions strike us from all quarters and fill us with amazement."[4]

In a letter written in 1818 his heart is still more aglow with his visions: "The American Revolution was not a common event. Its effects and consequences have already been awful over a great part of the globe. And when and where are they to cease?"[5]

In 1759–60 an intelligent English gentleman made travels through the middle settlements of

[1] Works, vol. i. p. 66.
[2] Ibid., vol. vii. pp. 275, 276.
[3] Ibid., vol. iv. p. 293.
[4] Ibid., vol. vi. p. 218.
[5] Ibid., vol. x. p. 282.

North America, and he observes: "Every one is looking forward with eager and impatient expectation to that destined moment when America is to give law to the rest of the world." [1]

It was the Abbé Raynal who offered a prize of twelve hundred francs for the best essay on the question, Has the discovery of America been hurtful or useful to the human family? The Academy of Lyons was to be umpire. The Abbé, in one of his works published in 1770, offers his own essay on the question. From his standpoint, as a student of America, a prediction in the concluding book of his works will have its force: "A new universe will proceed from their hands [America's] for the glory and happiness of humanity."

Hugh Henry Brackinridge, a native of Scotland, was graduated at Princeton College in 1771, and delivered for a Commencement poem The Rising Glory of America. In it occur lines quite in the tone and manner of an old Roman vates: —

> "New States, new Empires, and a line of Kings,
> High raised in glory, cities, palaces,
> Fair domes on each long bay, sea, shore, or stream.
> . . . the slow-paced caravans return
> O'er many a realm from the Pacific shore.
> . . . . . .
> 'T is but the morning of the world with us,
> And Science yet but sheds her orient rays;
> I see the age, the happy age roll on.

[1] Travels in the Interior of North America, 1809–11. By John Burnaby. London, 1817. p. 115.

Hail, happy land,
The seat of Empire, the abode of Kings,
The final stage, where Truth shall introduce
Renowned characters, and glorious works of art,
Which not the ravages of Time shall waste,
Till he himself has run his long career."

A most remarkable address was delivered in 1773, in London, by Jonathan Shipley, Bishop of St. Asaph. The time will indicate that the Ministry were then making strenuous efforts to hold the Colonies in America in a vassalage to the Crown, humiliating to all Englishmen; and the fidelity to convictions and the boldness shown in the address are quite of the quality of the real prophets.

"When we see many great and powerful causes constantly at work, we cannot doubt of their producing proportionable effects. . . . They [the Colonies] seem to have been intended as a solitary experiment to instruct the world to what improvements and happiness mankind will naturally attain when they are suffered to use their own prudence in search of their own interest.

"The Colonies in North America have not only taken root and acquired strength, but seem hastening with an accelerated progress to such a powerful state as may introduce a new and important change in human affairs. Descended from ancestors of the most improved and enlightened parts of the Old World, they receive, as it were by inheritance, all the improvements and discoveries of

their mother country. And it happens fortunately for them to commence their flourishing State at a time when the human understanding has attained to the free use of its powers, and has learned to act with vigor and certainty. . . . The vast continent itself, over which they are gradually spreading, may be considered as a treasure, yet untouched, of natural productions, that shall hereafter afford ample matter for commerce and contemplation. . . . It is difficult even to imagine to what height of improvement their discoveries may extend. And perhaps they may make as considerable advances in the arts of civil government and the conduct of life. . . . But must they rest here, as in the utmost effort of human genius? . . . The diversity of new scenes and situations, which so many growing States must necessarily pass through, may introduce changes in the fluctuating opinions and manners of men which we can form no conception of; and not only the gracious disposition of Providence, but the visible preparation of causes, seems to indicate strong tendencies towards a general improvement. . . . To whatever limits the populations of our Colonies, whatever States and Kingdoms they may form, through all the progress of their fortunes and prosperity, the labors of this Society will probably continue to operate with an increasing influence."[1]

[1] A Sermon preached before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Feb. 19, 1773, by the Right

Horace Walpole, son of the eminent Prime Minister, Sir Robert, was a free knight on any field where justice and liberty were put on the defensive. With visor up he carried a long lance, and was found, of choice, in the thickest of the fight. For the Colonies he was friendly, it might be said ardent, but that his ardor in their defence partook of the ardor of assault on the Ministry. Of the destruction of the tea in Boston Harbor he has this chatty remark in one of his letters: "There is an ostrich egg laid in America, where the Bostonians have canted three hundred chests of tea into the ocean, for they will not drink tea with our Parliament. . . . Lord Chatham talked of conquering America in Germany. I believe England will be conquered some day in New England or Bengal."[1] Nearly four years later, Dec. 11, 1777, he wrote to the Countess of Ossory: "Well, Madam, as I told Lord Ossory t' other day, I am satisfied. Old England is safe, that is, America, whither the true English retired under Charles I. This is Nova Scotia, and I care not what becomes of it. . . . I am at last not sorry you have no son, and your daughters I hope will be married to Americans, and not in this dirty, despicable island."[2] And two years afterward: "Liberty has still a conti-

Reverend Jonathan Shipley, Lord Bishop of St. Asaph. London. pp. 6, 7, 8.

[1] Letters to Horace Mann, Feb. 2, 1774, vol. ii. p. 263.

[2] Letters to Countess of Ossory.

nent to exist in. I do not care a straw who is Minister in this abandoned country. It is the good old cause of freedom that I have at heart." [1]

A passage from John Cartwright, Reformer, should have place here: "When we talk of asserting our sovereignty over the Americans, do we foresee to what fatal lengths it will carry us? Are not those nations increasing with astonishing rapidity? Must they not, in the nature of things, cover in a few ages that immense continent like a swarm of bees?"

The Declaration of American Independence, and the "Inquiry into the Nature and Sources of the Wealth of Nations," were published to the world the same year. Adam Smith, author of the "Inquiry," urged that the Colonies should be represented in Parliament, and continue to be, in proportion to taxation; and he has this passage: "The distance of America from the seat of government — the natives of that country might flatter themselves, with some appearance of reason too — would not be of a very long continuance. Such has hitherto been the rapid progress of that country in wealth, population, and improvements, that in the course of little more than a century, perhaps, the produce of America might exceed that of British taxation. The seat of empire would then naturally remove itself to that part of the

[1] Letters to Countess of Ossory, cxxix.

empire which contributed most to the general defence and support of the whole."[1]

John Adams, making estimations on the same basis, and for not a long period, till the Colonies surpass the mother country in taxable property, then puts the home question: "What will become of your supreme legislature? It will be translated, crown and all, to America."

Perhaps no foreigner has been more ardent in his friendship for the United States, and more prophetic in his expectations for the young nation, than Dr. Richard Price the Welchman. In declining an invitation of Congress to become an American citizen and assist in regulating our finances, he says that he looks "to the American States as now the hope and likely soon to become the refuge of mankind." In 1776 he began to write tracts in the interest of the Colonies, and in his first prophecy he says, "The probability is that they will go on to increase, and that in fifty or sixty years they will be double our number, and form a mighty empire."[2] A second tract and prophecy followed in 1784, in which he predicts that the independence of the Colonies will begin a new era in the annals of mankind, and produce a revolution more important, perhaps, than any that

[1] Wealth of Nations, Book IV. chap. vii. pt. iii. McCulloch's 4th Edition. p. 282.

[2] Justice and Policy of the War with America. 4th Edition. London, 1776. pp. 43, 44.

has happened in human affairs. After the recognition of American Independence, his heart and vision came out once more: "A revolution which opens a new prospect in human affairs, and begins a new era in the history of mankind. . . . Perhaps I do not go too far when I say that, next to the introduction of Christianity among mankind, the American Revolution may prove the most important step in the progressive course of human improvement. . . . Perhaps there never existed a people on whose wisdom and virtue more depended, or to whom a station of more importance in the plan of Providence has been assigned." "Providing, in a sequestered continent, possessed of many singular advantages, a place of refuge for oppressed men in every region of the world, by laying the foundation there of an empire which may be the seat of liberty, science, and virtue, and from whence there is reason to hope these sacred blessings will spread till they become universal."[1]

Galiani the Neapolitan, and yet French much by office and domicile, a man of letters, and a good student in the civil and social state of Europe, prophesied most hopefully for the United States, and yet partly because so despondent for Europe. After quoting what Livy said of decaying Rome, "We have fallen on times when we can neither

[1] Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution and the Means of making it a Benefit to the World. London, 1784. pp. 2, 3, 7, 8.

endure our vices nor their remedies," he says, in one of his letters: "Do you know the reality? The epoch has come of the total fall of Europe and of transmigration into America." This was before our Revolution; and when it was two years under way, he wrote again: "You will at this time have decided the greatest revolution of the globe; namely, if it is America which is to reign over Europe, or if it is Europe which is to continue to reign over America. I will wager in favor of America."[1]

It is very gratifying to introduce the judgments of one who not only combined scholarship with statemanship, but, with these, long experience in American affairs. Thomas Pownall was secretary of the Commission for Trade and Plantations as early as 1745; as Commissioner for Massachusetts Bay in 1755, he arranged with New England, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania for the expedition against Crown Point. He was Crown Governor, moreover, of Massachusetts Bay, New Jersey, and South Carolina. After this he was impressed further into the study of statemanship by being Comptroller-General of the Army in Germany, 1761, and in three Parliaments, ending in 1780. He was in advance of many Eastern and public Americans of to-day in understanding our geography. He showed to the English Parliament the necessity of an early and equal union

[1] Prophetic Voices. By Charles Sumner. p. 106.

of the colonies with Great Britain, or the certainty of an American and formidable union. Foreseeing the new and hastening nation in the European family of them, he called the attention of the governments of the Old World to the inevitable fact, in "A Memorial to the Sovereigns of Europe, 1780." He solicited their attention and comity and high international policy for the event. "North America has become a new primary planet in the system of the world, which, while it takes its own course, must have effect on the orbit of every other planet, and shift the common centre of gravity of the whole system of the European world." It is interesting to notice how intelligent, broad, and forecasting writers on the United States resort to astronomical spaces for room to open up their theme. A bold passage has been quoted from John Adams. Pownall continues: "The independence of America is fixed as fate. She is mistress of her own future, knows that she is so, and will actuate that power which she feels she hath, so as to establish her own system, and to change the system of Europe."[1] In the Hülsemann Correspondence Webster gives an illustration of this. In that rare specimen of diplomatic writing, so free of all ambiguity and so clearly and energetically set forth in clean Saxon, our Secretary of State thus meets the Austrian complaint

[1] Three Memorials to the Sovereigns of Europe, Great Britain, and North America. London, 1784. pp. 4, 5.

that the United States were somewhat the source of the uneasiness in Europe in 1848, which culminated in the Hungarian revolt under Kossuth. "True, indeed, it is, that the prevalence on the other continent of sentiments favorable to republican liberty is the result of the reaction of America upon Europe; and the source and centre of this reaction has doubtless been, and now is, in these United States."[1]

To return to Governor Pownall: "North America has advanced, and is every day advancing, to growth of State, with a steady and continually accelerating motion, of which there never yet has been an example in Europe."[2] When the treaty of peace was concluded, he congratulated Franklin on the successful conclusion of "a Revolution that has stronger marks of Divine interposition, superseding the ordinary course of human affairs, than any other event which this world has experienced."

After this manner he expresses his wish to revisit America: "If there ever was an object worth travelling to see, and worthy of the contemplation of a philosopher, it is that in which he may see the beginning of a great empire at its foundation."[3] In a letter two years later to Franklin, who was about to return to America, he says: "You are going to a New World, formed to

[1] Webster's Works, vol. vi. p. 495. Edition of 1851.

[2] Ibid., p. 56.

[3] Sparks's Works of Franklin, vol. ix. p. 491.

exhibit a scene which the Old World never yet saw."[1] "America will become the arbitress of the commercial, and perhaps the mediatrix of peace, and of the political business of the world."[2]

With singular foresight, and taking a figure of speech from the cherubim at Eden, he thus anticipates the incoming tides of immigration: "Unless the great potentates of Europe can station some such universal and equally efficient power of restraint to prevent man's quitting the Old World, multitudes of their people will emigrate to the New One."[3]

How fulfilment chases up prediction on our continent! "Do you know," said John Bright at Birmingham, in 1862, "that in fifteen years two million five hundred thousand persons — men, women, and children — have left the United Kingdom to find a home in the Free States of America? This is a population equal to eight great cities of the size of Birmingham. What would you think of eight Birminghams being transplanted from this country and set down in the United States?"[4]

Or, quoting from another, and taking the whole Old World as an emigrating point, and a wider

[1] Spark's Works of Franklin, vol. x. p. 343.

[2] Memorial, p. 77.

[3] Ibid., p. 87.

[4] Speeches of John Bright, M. P., on the American Question. Boston, 1865. p. 124.

sweep of time: "During the last sixty years no less than sixteen millions of people have left the Old World for homes in America and the British Colonies, of whom nearly eleven millions have landed on the shores of the United States."[1]

A French voice should here be heard. Cérisier was a well-bred scholar and writer on national and civil questions. Before the acknowledged independence of the United States, he said, in an elaborate disquisition on Republics: "The influence of America will become preponderant in Parliament, and can perhaps transport the seat of empire to their country, and so, without danger and without convulsive agitation, render this immense continent, already so favored by nature, the theatre of one of the greatest and freest governments which ever existed." And in another smaller work, soon following: "This revolution is, then, the most happy event which could arrive to the human species and to all the States separately."[2] Of course we make abatement from all these French writers, as speaking of the interests and policies of a rival nation.

One of the most efficient men in Europe in national and international affairs during the last

[1] The West: From the Census of 1880. By Robert P. Porter. Chicago and London, 1882. p. 9. Here is a number of immigrants seven times greater than the entire population of the thirteen revolting Colonies at that time when Pownall served his warning on the sovereigns of Europe.

[2] Sumner's Prophetic Voices, pp. 131, 132.

half of the last century was Count de Vergennes, Minister of Foreign Affairs to Louis XVI. on his accession, 1774. He had previously been French Minister at Treves, and Ambassador to Constantinople, holding England and Prussia in check against his own country. He aided our Colonies variously till independence was assured, and was efficient for the young Republic in the treaties of peace, 1782 and 1783. He was therefore versed in statecraft, skilled in promoting, checking, and guiding European politics, and was peculiarly well fitted from experience to forecast national interests. As such he is here introduced. It will be noticed that he exercises friendship only for France; all else is policy.

The Count had visions of colonial independence before the battle of Lexington, but that fight made them clearer, and he thus wrote to the French Ambassador at London: "We must be on our guard, that the independence which produces so terrible an explosion in North America may not communicate itself to points that interest us in the hemispheres. . . . We have a presentiment that it may be followed by more extensive consequences." [1]

Later in the same year, October, 1775, he said to Lord Stormont, British Ambassador in France: "I see the consequences that must follow the

[1] Bancroft's History of the United States, vol. vii. p. 352. 12th Edition.

independence of North America, if your Colonies should carry that point at which they now so visibly aim. They might, when they pleased, conquer both your islands and ours. I am persuaded that they would not stop there, but would, in process of time, advance to the southern continent of America, and either subdue its inhabitants or carry them along with them, and in the end not leave a foot of that hemisphere in the possession of any European power. All those consequences will not, indeed, be immediate. Neither you nor I shall live to see them; but for being remote they are no less sure."[1]

In 1778 Spain became anxious for the political consequences that might follow independence, and desired that England should hold afterward Rhode Island, New York, and other sections of the coast. To this Vergennes objected for the king, on account of the French pledges given to the Colonies, but added: "We are very far from desiring that the nascent Republic should remain the exclusive mistress of all that immense continent."[2]

This able statesman was not the man idly to foresee dangers for France. He therefore cultivated and returned the anxieties of Spain, and suggested methods for keeping the Republic from obtaining too much territory; and he proposed that

[1] Bancroft's History of the United States, vol. vii. p. 164.

[2] Ibid., vol. x. pp. 182, 183.

England, Spain, Holland, and France combine to assign it narrow limits, and then hold it rigidly to them. One result of this proposal was the most strenuous endeavor of the English, aided by the Count, to shut off the United States from the Great Lakes, and keep the new nation to the east of all waters flowing into the Ohio. It was barely short of a failure of a treaty that Oswald, the English commissioner, yielded, and the Republic moved up to the centre of the great chain of lakes and to the forty-ninth parallel, and West to the Mississippi River. It is all the same that our growth of empire was resisted; enough for our purpose now that it was anticipated, and that anxieties and fears became prophecies.

The Count Aranda signed the Treaty of Peace of 1783 for Spain, and, he says, with grief and dread. These feelings and their causes, too, are made obvious in a Memoir which he secretly addressed to his king, Charles III., soon after. With France withdrawn from North America, and England no longer holding the Colonies in check, he fears for the security of New Spain. "This Federal Republic is born a pygmy, so to speak. A day will come when it will be a giant, even a Colossus. . . . The first movement of this power, when it has arrived at its aggrandizement, will be to obtain possession of the Floridas, in order to dominate the Gulf of Mexico. After having rendered commerce with New Spain difficult for us, it will aspire to the

conquest of this vast empire. . . . These fears are well-founded, Sire: they will be changed into reality in a few years."[1] A prophecy so soon fulfilled!

William Paley, in his "Moral Philosophy," 1785, combines a rebuke and a prophecy in the chapter on Slavery. Referring to the English introduction and support of human bondage in the Colonies, and to their recently acknowledged independence, he expresses a doubt "whether a legislature which had so long lent its assistance to the support of an institution replete with human misery, was fit to be trusted with an empire the most extensive that ever obtained in any age or quarter of the world."[2]

We must not omit David Hartley from the noble roll of Englishmen who favored American Independence and predicted and assumed most hopefully for our future. He was the British plenipotentiary who signed the treaty of peace. In a letter written in 1785 he gives admonition to those who were to shape the young nation, never too much heeded then or now: "Those who have the first care of this New World will probably give it such directions and inherent influences as may guide and control its course and revolutions for the ages to come," and then refers to its "unwieldy magnitude of empire, and the future population of

[1] Sumner's Prophetic Voices, p. 142.

[2] Paley's Works, vol. iii. p. 173. Boston, 1811.

millions superadded to millions." He thinks that "the immense cession of territory to the United States at the late peace is a point which will perhaps in a few years become an unparalleled phenomenon in the political world. . . . Here will be a nation possessed of a new and unheard-of financial organ of stupendous magnitude, and in process of time of unmeasured value."

Referring in this connection to the plans and proposals of Congress to put these lands on the market of the world at low rates and for all immigrants, he adds: "These are such propositions of free establishments as have never yet been offered to mankind, and cannot fail of producing great effects in the future progress of things."[1]

The Abbé Grégoire, sometimes called Bishop, eminent in several public positions, sacred and secular, in France, has put a daring question on the future of the United States.

"When an energetic and powerful nation, to which everything presages high destinies, stretching its arms upon the two oceans, Atlantic and Pacific, shall direct its vessels from one to the other by an abridged route . . . it will change the face of the commercial world and the face of empires. Who knows if America will not then avenge the outrages she has received, and if our

[1] Prophetic Voices concerning America. By Charles Sumner. Boston, 1874. pp. 99–103. Mr. Sumner gives this letter its first publication.

old Europe, placed in the rank of a subaltern power, will not become a colony of the New World ?" [1]

Thomas Jefferson never rose to the grand conception of our national domain as inter-oceanic. He could anticipate free States on the Pacific, of our blood and after our model, but not outgrowth or enlargement of the original republic. His letters of 1812 and 1813 to John Jacob Astor show this. Yet he varied, as a diseased eye, between long and short sight, and sometimes caught a vision in the prophetic distance. So in his letter to Livingstone in 1824 he urges him to cherish "every measure which may foster our brotherly union, and perpetuate a constitution of government destined to be the primitive and precious model of what is to change the condition of man over the globe." [2]

So, writing of the Spanish possessions on our southwest in 1786, he says: "We should take care not to think it for the interest of that great continent to press too soon upon the Spaniards. Those countries cannot be in better hands. My fear is that they are too feeble to hold them until our population can be sufficiently advanced to gain it from them piece by piece." [3]

First of all foreign modern students of American

[1] Sumner's Prophetic Voices, p. 154.

[2] Works, vol. vii. p. 344. Washington, 1854.

[3] American State Papers, Boston Edition, vol. v. p. 94.

institutions, after some experience had removed in a measure our rawness and uncertainty, was De Tocqueville. Though of the nobility, he was democratic in his sympathies and labors. A great student, he came to the United States in 1831, as to a school where theories were in practice, and he could take lessons from actual life. The result was his "Democracy in America," 1835, and another publication in the same line and with the same title in 1840. Having had an extensive range in public offices and labors for France, he was restrained much from writing as only a theorist. It will be seen, therefore, that he was well qualified to utter some of those human prophecies which are but condensed judgments and inferences from a wide knowledge as to the future of the United States. And in this catalogue of predictions, culled from the progressive writers of more than two hundred years, I doubt whether any will outrank, in studious judgment and reliability, these about to be quoted from De Tocqueville: "The Americans of the United States must inevitably become one of the greatest nations in the world; their offspring will cover almost the whole of North America; the continent which they inhabit is their dominion, and it cannot escape them.[1] . . . In the midst of the uncertain future, one event, at least, is sure. At a period which

[1] Democracy in America, vol. i. p. 519. Bowen's Edition, 1862.

may be said to be near, — for we are speaking of the life of a nation, — the Anglo-Americans alone will cover the immense space contained between the polar regions and the tropics, extending from the coasts of the Atlantic to those of the Pacific Ocean. The territory which will probably be occupied by the Anglo-Americans may perhaps equal three quarters of Europe in extent." [1] It is much more than the whole of Europe.

The United States held but little territory on the Pacific at that time, and the statesman-seer could not have been expected to specify San Diego, Behring's Strait, and Point Barrow as bounds. The present area of the United States is larger than the whole of Europe by the area of New England, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and both the Virginias. And he continues with the same clear vision: "The time will therefore come when one hundred and fifty millions of men will be living in North America, equal in condition, all belonging to one family, owing their origin to the same cause, and preserving the same civilization, the same language, the same religion, the same habits, the same manners, and imbued with the same opinions, propagated under the same forms. The rest is uncertain, but this is certain; and it is a fact new to the world, — a fact which the imagination strives in vain to grasp." [2]

[1] Democracy in America, p. 557.

[2] Ibid., p. 558.

Lucas Alaman was prominent in Mexico, where so many have gained a brief prominence and given place to others since her independence, 1824. A paragraph concentrates all he says in our present line of thought. "Mexico will be without doubt a land of prosperity from its natural advantages, but it will not be so for the races which now inhabit it."[1]

Alaman expands this Jeremiad in his fifth volume of the "History of Mexico," published in 1852. We can fancy the sorrow of the patriot scholar as he wrote out that sad refrain. The treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was then but three years old, which transferred nearly half of the Mexican Federal Republic to a conquering neighbor. An illustration here of what Webster said of progress in the United States, — "The prophecies lag behind the fulfilment."

In 1863, and near its close, when the American future showed by no means a perfectly clear sky, John Bright uttered some words, each of which was worth a thousand men for our threatened Union. It was at Rochdale: "Will anybody deny now that the Government at Washington, as regards its own people, is the strongest government in the world, at this hour, — and for this simple reason, that it is based on the will, and the good-will of an instructed people? Look at its power. . . . They have brought more men into the field, built more

[1] Sumner's Prophetic Voices, p. 169.

ships for their navy, they have shown greater resources, than any nation in Europe is capable of. . . . Then Europe and England may learn that an instructed democracy is the surest foundation of government, and that education and freedom are the only sources of true greatness and true happiness among any people."

And two months later, at Birmingham, 1864, when the English recognition of the Confederacy was under discussion: "I am myself of opinion, as I have been from the first, that the people of America, so numerous, so powerful, so instructed, so capable in every way, will settle the difficulties of that continent without asking the old countries of Europe to take any share in them." [1]

For the International Committee of the World's Exposition at Paris in 1867, Michel Chevalier made a report, and it contains some most remarkable passages for European nations to read: "It seems that the supreme authority is about to escape from Western and Central Europe, to pass to the New World. In the northern part of that other hemisphere offshoots of the European race have founded a vigorous society, full of sap, whose influence grows with a rapidity that has never yet been seen anywhere. In crossing the ocean it has left behind on the soil of old Europe traditions, prejudices, and usages which, as impedi-

[1] Speeches of John Bright, M.P., on the American Question. Boston, 1865. pp. 257, 258, 259, 263.

ments heavy to move, would have embarrassed its movements and retarded its progressive march. In about thirty years the United States will have, according to all probability, a hundred millions of population, in possession of the most powerful means, distributed over a territory which would make France fifteen or sixteen times over [nineteen times], and of the most wonderful disposition. . . . Vainly do the occidental and central nations of Europe attribute to themselves a primacy which in their vanity they think sheltered from events, and eternal; as if there were anything eternal in the grandeur and prosperity of societies, the works of men!"

Some of these bright and stirring anticipations for America surprise us by coming from lands where growth and progress and anticipation are not the normal state of things. In this light a quotation is presented from a speech in the Spanish Cortes, in 1871, by Emilio Castelar: "America, and especially Saxon America, with its immense virgin territories, with its republic, with its equilibrium between stability and progress, with its harmony between liberty and democracy, is the continent of the future, — the immense continent stretched by God between the Atlantic and the Pacific, where mankind may plant, essay, and resolve all social problems. Europe has to decide whether she will confound herself with Asia, placing upon her lands old altars, and upon the altars

old idols, and upon the idols immovable theocracies, and upon the theocracies despotic empires, or whether she will go by labor, by liberty, and by the republic, to collaborate with America in the grand work of universal civilization."

At the Festival of the New England Society, New York, 1850, Webster thus unites the historian and the prophet: "Hitherto the extension of our race, following our New England ancestry, has crept along the shore. But now it has extended itself. It has crossed the continent. It has not only transcended the Alleghanies, but has capped the Rocky Mountains. It is now upon the shores of the Pacific. It shall yet go hard, if the three hundred millions of people of China, provided they are intelligent enough to understand anything, shall not one day hear and know something of the Rock of Plymouth, too.

"The emergence of this country from British dominion is one of the most fortunate, the most admirable, the most auspicious occurrences which has ever fallen to the lot of man. The power of this Republic at the present moment is spread over a region, one of the richest and most fertile on the globe, and of extent in comparison with which the possessions of the House of Hapsburg are as but a patch on the earth's surface." [1]

But necessity compels abbreviation in these quo-

[1] Webster's Hülsemann Correspondence; Works, vol. vi. p. 496.

tations from the prophets on America. A group or constellation must be passed along at the same time, with only a sentence and reference for each. It "will make a glorious country," said William Penn, when the Treaty of Utrecht and the Valley of the Mississippi were the topic.[1] When the Washingtons and Dinwiddie were proposing to colonize the Ohio, in order to secure it for the English (1749), Earl Halifax, head of the Board of Trade and Plantations, made this remark: "The country west of the great mountains is the centre of the British Dominion."[2]

We have already quoted what Washington said to the Chevalier de Chastellux, 1783, when speaking of the limits of the treaty about to be proclaimed as those "which have given bounds to a new empire."[3] When the sale of Louisiana to the United States was about to be concluded, April 30, 1803, Napoleon said to Livingstone, the American Commissioner, that he "was desirous of giving to the United States a magnificent bargain, an empire for a mere trifle."[4] And at another time: "The day may come when the cession of Louisiana to the United States shall render the Americans too powerful for the continent of Europe."[5]

[1] Bancroft's United States, vol. iii. p. 233.
[2] Ibid., vol. iv. p. 42.
[3] Irving's Life of Washington, vol. iv. p. 434.
[4] Monette's History of the Mississippi Valley, vol. i. p. 552.
[5] Gayarré's History of Louisiana, vol. iii. p. 526.

It is in place to remark here on the wealth of the United States in 1880. It then headed the valuation list of the nations, and we could have bought out, according to Mulhall, the empires of Russia and Turkey, as well as the kingdoms of Italy, Denmark, Sweden and Norway, Australia, South Africa, and all South America, — everything valuable in each and all to which a dollar and cent estimate could be attached. But as Napoleon's conception of our future power was doubtless military, it is well to recall what Bright said of our capability for land and sea forces in 1863, — "greater resources than any nation in Europe is capable of." Of course Napoleon was then looking down the future in the line of armies and navies, and across battlefields and new international boundaries, and over thrones destroyed, and new ones. In this scope of vision and thought he was no doubt correct. In such affairs the United States has become too powerful for European intermeddling. She commands her situation, and if at all interested in any "balance of power," it is simply to balance the New World against the Old. The forces extemporized in the late Civil War are a fair index of the power to which Napoleon referred, and show our country to be too large for a Waterloo of the allies.

I have therefore refrained from prophecies and growths in this line for the coming empire. As rulers of this world the race of Anak is gone by,

and the bedstead of Og, King of Bashan, is out of style and use, and brain is nobly taking the ascendency over muscle. It suits the genius of America to ship wheat and beef rather than soldiers and the munitions of war to an inferior and needy people; and it is to be hoped that the augury of the noblest in these later times is neither American nor delusive, — that the highest mastery among the nations lies in the highest service to all nations.

When the American and French Commissioners had affixed their signatures to the papers covering the sale of Louisiana, Livingstone remarked: "From this day the United States take their place among the powers of the first rank." These instruments "prepare ages of happiness for innumerable generations of human creatures."[1]

We may here incidentally remark on the quietness with which great events pass along in the United States. The transfer of Louisiana from nation to nation was made at New Orleans, Dec. 20, 1803, at meridian. At that time on the dial the French flag was lowered and the American was raised, passing each other midway on the flagstaff. "No emotion was manifested by any other part of the crowd" than by a small group of Americans on a corner.[2] And great events are still taking place in the United States quite unob-

[1] Gayarré's History of Louisiana, vol. iii. p. 525.

[2] Marbois's History of Louisiana, vol. ii. 197–199.

served except by small groups of Americans here and there.

In a tract entitled "Reflections on the Cession of Louisiana to the United States," by "Sylvestris," 1803, occurs this sentence: "Never since the commencement of the annals of mankind did any civilized nation possess so advantageous a position. . . . Who that looks westward can fail to discover an unbounded territory, etc. . . . I will not affirm that the purchase cannot be made [it had been already]. It is clear that we cannot offer a consideration that is adequate; the value of this Province to the French surpasses the reach of mere money." [1]

"The northern Pacific Ocean, and in the course of time, probably, the eastern shores of Asia, will find their masters in the country north of California." [2]

When President McCosh was preaching in his former pulpit in Brechin, Scotland, in 1884, he remarked: "I have now fewer readers than I could wish in this country. Thank God, I am getting a hearing in the wider America."

As to the possibility suggested by Napoleon, that the Americans might become too powerful for the continent of Europe, some passages from

[1] Monroe's Embassy, etc. By Poplicola. 1803. pp. 14, 35, 45.

[2] Lord Ashburton to Mr. Sturgis, 1845; Berlin Arbitration, p. 37.

an article by Gladstone read quite like fulfilment. Alluding to the marvellous growth of this nation, he speaks of "the menace which, in the prospective development of her resources, America offers to the commercial pre-eminence of England. On this subject I will only say that it is she alone who, at a coming time, can and probably will wrest from us that commercial primacy. We have no title, I have no inclination, to murmur at the prospect. If she acquires it she will take the acquisition by the right of the strongest; but in this instance the strongest means the best. She will probably become what we are now, — the head servant in the great household of the world, the employer of all employed, because her service will be the most and the ablest. We have no more title against her than Venice or Genoa or Holland has had against us."

It is interesting to note some of the early ambitions of Great Britain for commercial supremacy about the time she was planting those Colonies which, her Premier now intimates, they may take from her: "His Majesty is now absolute commander of the British Isle, and hath also enlarged his Dominions over a great part of the Westerne Indies; by means of which extent of Empire (crossing in a manner the whole Ocean) the trade and persons of all Nations (moving from one part of the World to the other) must of necessitie, first or last, come within compasse of his power and

jurisdiction. And therefore the Sovereignty of our Seas being the most precious Jewell of his Majestie's Crowne, and (nex under God) the principall meanes of our Wealth and Safetie, all true English hearts and hands are bound by all possible meanes and dilligence to preserve and maintain the same, even with the uttermost hazzard of their lives, their goods, and their fortunes."[1]

Gladstone continues: "She has, taking the capacity of her land into view, as well as its mere measurement, a natural base for the greatest continuous empire ever established by man. And it may be well here to mention, what has not always been sufficiently observed, that the distinction between continuous empire and empire severed and dispersed over sea is vital." This is a significant observation for the Premier. When he wrote it the fragmentary colonial possessions of Great Britain were forty. Burmah has since been added. The colonies and dependencies of the Queen equal about one seventh of the land of this world, and embrace about one fourth of its population.

Would Mr. Gladstone have us connect his remark about a severed empire with his remark closely preceding? "One great duty is entailed

[1] The Sovereignty of the British Seas, proved by Records. History and the Municipal Lawes of this Kingdom. By that Learned Knight, Sir John Boroughs. London, 1651. pp. 163–165.

upon us, which we unfortunately neglect, — the duty of preparing, by a resolute and sturdy effort, to reduce our public burdens in preparation for a day when we shall probably have less capacity than we have now to bear them."

But to return to his observations on the United States. "The development which the Republic has effected has been unexampled in its rapidity and force. While other countries have doubled, or at most trebled their population, she has risen, during a single century of freedom, in round numbers, from two millions to forty-five. As to riches, it is reasonable to establish, from the decennial stages of the progress thus far achieved, a series for the future; and, reckoning upon this basis, I suppose that the very next census, in the year 1880, will exhibit her to the world as certainly the wealthiest of all the nations. . . . Yet even now the work of searching the soil and the bowels of the territory, and opening out her enterprise throughout its vast expanse, is in its infancy. The England and the America of the present are probably the two strongest nations of the world. But there can hardly be a doubt as between the England and the America of the future, that the daughter, at some no very distant time, will, whether fairer or less fair, be unquestionably yet stronger than the mother."[1] Gladstone was right in his anticipations. In the census of the nations

[1] North American Review, 1878, pp. 179–181.

in 1880, as above stated, the United States stood at the head in the column of wealth.

Of course in colonial days, and in the early days of the Republic, and even hitherto, men have not been wanting, ranking well in scholarship and official position, who had only the foresight of discouragement and left-hand omens. To round up this chapter of happy anticipations, one author of the ill-boding, who has never lacked a successor, may be quoted.

The Baron Sheffield published his anxieties in 1783: "It is difficult to see the advantage the New England Provinces will derive from independence and separation from this country. Such lights as we have point out that it must be ruinous to them, and that nothing could be more to their advantage than to become again part of the empire." The American republic "will assume a tone of importance; she will partake of the nature of new men; she has indulged and will indulge herself in puerile insolence; in that, perhaps, she will not show herself much unlike her parent, but she has sense and information." Referring to American independence as conceded by the Crown, the Baron says: "Yet the gift, however disgraceful to ourselves and unnecessary, will be vain and useless to the new sovereign," — the sovereign people. "The authority of the Congress can never be maintained over those distant and boundless regions." But it extends over a

region much larger than all Europe. "The emigrants from Europe to the American States will be miserably disappointed; however, having got into a scrape, they may wish to lead others after them;" and since this was written eleven millions have followed them in a marvellous continuing through a hundred years. "It will not be an easy matter to bring the American States to act as a nation; they are not to be feared as such by us."

"No quantity of beef was exported from any Colony but Connecticut. The merchants of New York, Philadelphia, and Rhode Island were supplied from thence, and New Jersey. Massachusetts salted some for exportation and for the navy, of an inferior quality to that of Ireland, and not so well cured. There is but little in Virginia. The beef of the Provinces south of Pennsylvania is not good." Yet now Europe has a deficit of 853,000 tons of meat annually, and the United States has a surplus of 1,076,000. "Excepting the instance of three or four years, there never was any market in Europe for the wheat and wheat-flour of America, except in Spain, Portugal, and the ports of the Mediterranean." Now Europe has an annual deficit of 380,000,000 of bushels of wheat, and the United States has a surplus of 370,000,000.[1]

But enough from the prophets on the United

[1] Observations on the Commerce of the American States. By I. B. Holroyd, Baron Sheffield. The Second Edition, London 1883, pp. 63, 100, 104, 105, 106, 109, 71, 44.

States of America. It remains only to confront the preceding chapters of predictions with some fulfilments into which we have lived. As to extension of domain, the anxieties of Oswald and Vergennes have been immensely realized. Instead of being confined to the eastward of the watershed of the Great Lakes and the Ohio, we have the springs and the mouths of the waters flowing into the Pacific and Arctic along a coast of 6,411 miles. The entire western coast of Europe is only about 10,000 miles. The treaty of 1783 assigned to the young nation an area of 820,680 square miles; now the nation has about 4,000,000. Taking one State as a measuring unit, the original area equalled one hundred and two States like Massachusetts, while it has been increased to equal four hundred and ninety-seven.

A few comparative facts, taken from tables made up for all the nations, and from a well-accredited author, will best set things which have come to pass over against things predicted. The citations are made from "The Balance Sheet of the World for Ten Years, — 1870–1880." By Michael G. Mulhall, F. S. S.: London, 1881. "It would be impossible to find in history a parallel to the progress of the United States in the last ten years."[1] During those ten years the increase of population in the United States has been "three times the European rate of increase, and double that of Eng-

[1] Mulhall, p. 108.

land or Germany."[1] "Ten years ago the balance of trade was against the country, but now (1880) the exports are thirty-one per cent over imports.[2] . . . The Americans now make one fifth of the iron and one fourth of the steel of the world, . . . one half the gold and one half the silver of the world's supply. . . . Taking, *in globo*, all the mining interests of the world, the United States represents thirty-six, Great Britain thirty-three, and the other nations thirty-one per cent of the total.[3] . . . In these ten years farming stock has increased thirty-three per cent. In 1880 the United States had: horses, 12,250,000; cows, 33,600,000; sheep, 38,000,000; hogs, 35,000,000.[4] . . . Railways have doubled in ten years. . . . This is more than the entire increase in Europe for the same ten years."[5]

In the United States taxation on the earnings of the people is $9\frac{1}{4}$ per cent, as against 31 in Italy, $17\frac{1}{2}$ in France, and 12 in Great Britain, and $15\frac{1}{3}$ for Europe.[6]

The grain-supply is $18\frac{1}{2}$ per cent above consumption, and the meat-supply 36 per cent. "The United States produces 30 per cent of the grain and 30 per cent of the meat of the world."[7] In 1870 the wheat crop of the United States was

[1] Mulhall, pp. 117, 118.
[2] Ibid., p. 109.
[3] Ibid., pp. 110, 111.
[4] Ibid., p. 111.
[5] Ibid., pp. 113, 114.
[6] Ibid., pp. 11, 78, 116.
[7] Ibid., p. 118.

231,000,000 bushels; in 1880, 496,000,000 bushels. In 1870 the corn was 992,000,000 bushels, and in 1880 it was 1,480,000,000 bushels.

"The Americans are apparently the best fed of all the nations." The average annual consumption of grain to the person is $40\frac{66}{100}$ bushels, while the average in Europe is $17\frac{66}{100}$ bushels. The consumption of meat in the United States averages 120 pounds to the person, and in Europe $57\frac{1}{2}$ pounds.[1] "Europe has a deficit of 380,000,000 bushels of grain, and 853,000 tons of meat annually. The United States have a surplus of 370,000,000 bushels of grain, and 1,076,000 tons of meat.[2] . . . The increase of population in the United States exceeds the aggregate number of inhabitants in three kingdoms of Europe; namely, Holland, Denmark, and Portugal."[3]

The praise of rivals may well be welcomed, if not coveted; and when the London "Times," not given to overestimates of American prosperity, indulges in grateful commendations and eminent hopes for the United States, we may give its words the full weight and worth of their face. In one of its issues for January, 1881, it expresses the following sentiments, historic and prophetic: —

"The details we publish this morning of the principal facts elicited by last year's census of the

[1] Mulhall, pp. 38, 39, 119. [2] Ibid., p. 12. [3] Ibid., p. 6.

United States confirm the impression the original summary of results produced. A nation has never exhibited a more magnificent picture of material progress for ten years. Since 1870 more than eleven and a half millions have been added to the population, at a rate of thirty per cent increase. Except China and Great Britain and Russia, no government can count more subjects. In the number of citizens moved by similar impulses, and recognizing common ends, the British Empire itself yields to the great Republic. Fifty millions of human beings in a land like America more than match the eighty-six millions of European and Asiatic Russia. The four hundred and twenty-five millions of China are not to be compared with them as a force among mankind. The growth of a population may generally be understood to imply the growth of wealth and resources. As each census in a European State indicates a numerical advance, it may for the most part be inferred that fresh means of support have been made available. When, however, every successive census in the United States reveals an expansion by bounds and leaps, faith in the instinct of human nature not to multiply beyond the power of existence is scarcely needed to reassure anxiety. The granary which is to feed the new millions which have come, the millions which are to follow, piles its stores for the whole world to certify them. Each added American citizen has not to search for the

livelihood nature hides somewhere or other for all its children. He is born or imported with his inheritance labelled and allotted. He has but to go West, or North, or South; there it is awaiting his advent."

CHAPTER XIV.

CONCLUSION.

WE find ourselves at the conclusion of an exceedingly interesting historical study. As wide, and covering long lapses of time, and under pressure for brevity, the survey has been necessarily hurried, like landscape studies from an express train of cars. In "The Railroad and the Farmer" Edward Atkinson remarks that "this nation has a function in the world that is yet almost a vision." We have now come to a position where the visionary may be seen to be taking on the real.

True prophecy is involuntary utterance under divine pressure and dictation; but there are human prophecies almost equally irresistible and reliable. When the careful student of events notices that he is following an unbroken series of growths in a nation, down the decades of years, he cannot resist the foreseeing and foretelling of events as logical sequents. Such was that inspiration of John Bright, when speaking at Birmingham, on the American question, in 1862, — midway in our darkest hours: "It may be but a vision, but I will

cherish it. I see one vast confederation stretching from the frozen North in one unbroken line to the glowing South, and from the wild billows of the Atlantic westward to the calmer waters of the Pacific main; and I see one people, and one law, and one language, and one faith, and over all that wide continent the home of freedom, and a refuge for the oppressed of every race and of every clime." [1]

A very large extent of land in the public domain still remains in Government hands unsold, awaiting the realization of John Bright's vision. 2,889,000,000 acres had been sold down to June 30, 1880. At the same time 1,270,000,000 acres remained unsold, — about three sevenths of the whole domain. Or, to state this in a more intelligible and popular form, the United Kingdom — Great Britain and Ireland — has an area of 77,332,480 acres, but the United States has on hand, unsold, sixteen times that amount of land. Our Government has still, in an absolutely wild state, over which the public surveyor has not yet travelled with compass and chain, thirteen times the area of the United Kingdom. It should, however, be added that the proportion of good land sold is greater than the proportion of it in the sections unsold.

Into this most immense national field, where such unsold areas are awaiting the coming nation,

[1] Speeches of John Bright, M. P., on the American Question. Boston, 1865. pp. 128, 129.

we are moving with a speed exceeding that of the leading government of the world. In the decade ending with 1880 our increase in population was three times the European rate, and double that of England and Germany — the leading nations of Europe — in growth. The significance of this, as to our future, is seen, if we remember our excess of area over that of the United Kingdom as above stated, and then consider that in 1880 their population was only thirty-five millions to our fifty millions.

In indulging visions of our national growth, allowance should be made for portions of our territory, uninviting for human homes, and some even uninhabitable. Yet since Eastern energy has settled Vermont, and Western enterprise has conquered the Great American Desert, we do not feel constrained to yield much land permanently to wild animals and American Arabs. Gladstone takes the quality as well as the quantity of our territory into view when he says that we have "a natural base for the greatest continuous empire ever established by man." If the British or the Russian Empire be put in comparison with us in extent, either is double our own; but when we consider how much of the latter is arctic and how much of the former is arctic and torrid, their quantity must be estimated in view of our quality. The two persons to a square mile in Asiatic Russia give no rich promise for the future of those regions, and

British North America is less promising; for, including even the old Canadas as well as the Hudson Bay and Polar sections, it has a density of only $1\frac{24}{100}$ of a person to the square mile. The population in Manitoba in 1881 was only one person to two square miles, in British Columbia one to seven, and in the Territories one to forty.

Moreover, in forecasting the empire of the future, as the preceding chapters compel us to do, it is to be well considered that our dominion is not fractional. With the exception of Alaska, it lies in one undivided body, animated practically by one blood, using one national tongue, and living under one law, enacted at one common centre. In this regard our homogeneity is remarkable as in contrast with the colonial and heterogeneous composition of the British Empire. Her composite dominion lies scattered about the world in forty-one parcels, not including the home kingdom, — in Europe three, in America eleven, in Africa nine, in Asia nine, in Australia nine. The advantage from this unity for symmetrical development is beyond estimate to the American nation, in aid of consolidation and vigor of national life. If, instead of our thirty-eight States, constituting a federal unit in one undivided territory, we were so many colonies and outlying provinces, separated each from every other by intervening and foreign sovereignties, each having a different blood, language, religion, and the remnants of an ancestral government, the hope of

union, prosperity, and perpetuity would be extremely frail. Old World wars and the overthrow of governments have sprung from these military unions of discordant and antagonistic materials. The rise of such a colony or dependency toward the higher civilization is a menace to the head government of independence and home rule.

One has but to consider this amount of unsold country, sixteen times the area of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, and the high tide of population flowing into it at the present time, to feel that we have a magnificent future, and near at hand. What Samuel Adams, in the Congress at Philadelphia, wrote to James Warren, president of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts in 1775, is pre-eminently true to-day: "The wheels of Providence seem to be in their swiftest motion." Our increase in population, natural and imported, is now about two millions a year; so that the growth of two years would more than equal all we had in the days of the Revolution.

Such increase of new settlements and filling up of the older ones are without precedent or parallel in history. What a Congressional Committee on the development of the West reported in 1816 might be repeated to-day with emphasis: "The rapidity of its growth is such that even whilst we are employed in drawing the portrait, the features continue to enlarge, and the picture becomes distorted." In September, 1884, there

was spread out, near Devil's Lake, Dakota, an immense wheat-field, with only here and there a rude shelter for man and beast. Within nine months a city had sprung up at the terminus of a new railroad into that wheat-field, containing three hotels, a bank, roller-rink, five lumber-yards, two elevators, two churches, and numerous stores, with a population to correspond, and had already handled eight hundred thousand bushels of wheat. In this way, to use the words of a very eminent English statesman, America "bravely and vigorously grapples with the problem of making a continent into a State."

There is a suggestive incident floating down to us from the English Parliament of 1846, as to our rapidity of growth. Sir Robert Peel, then discussing the corn-laws, mentioned two young and border towns in America that would by and by rival Odessa and Dantzic in the grain markets of the world; and he named Chicago and Milwaukee. It is said that those two cities had never before been mentioned in the House, and members whispered, "What did he call them?" "Oh, Indian towns," was the reply. That was only forty years ago, and now the two places have their seven hundred thousand and two hundred thousand inhabitants. English dealers in grain now catch those names with painful distinctness sometimes, when America rules the prices of wheat.

The sudden massing of peoples in newly discovered or newly opened countries has always marked the opening of a new era in human progress. At such times the race gathers fresh force for another career, and begins to make material for another volume of history. The reason for this lies much in the fact that those who emigrate are usually the more energetic portion of a community. They are the spirited and ambitious, who weary of grooves, and have more independence and expectation than they have reverence and tenacity for the past or content with the present. Our vast expanses of newly opened country, so dwarfing the nations of Europe in comparative extent, and the millions gathering in them by both natural increase and immigration, show plainly to the statesman that we are working on the crude foundations of a new empire, unprecedented in extent, population, and wealth. For a century and a half it was doubted whether the English Colonies could rise above suppressed dependencies under Great Britain, and break the will of Pitt by making a nail for a horseshoe in America.

It was by slow growth that the knowledge of the existence of the United States as a nation became common in Europe. "Once a colony always a colony" was an axiom then as it is to-day in the Old World. In 1797 John Quincy Adams entered Berlin as American Minister to Prussia. He was questioned at the gates by a dapper lieu-

tenant, who did not know, until one of his private soldiers explained to him, what the United States of America were.[1] When in the same city George Bancroft put before the Emperor William, as umpire between the United States and Great Britain, the Northwestern Boundary Question, the unknown Republic had become a nation in the first rank; and to-day it heads the list in the financial valuations of the nations of the earth.

Reasonable anticipations of our future, fairly put, seem visionary and even boastful to foreign statesmen, and almost as much so to our own provincial and untravelled citizens. A playful allusion to our national bird will neutralize with many a chapter of august facts; nevertheless, that bird is as yet only in the callow and downy stage of development.

When Canon Farrar was lately leaving America, he put this glowing passage among his farewell words: "I have stood astonished before the growth, the power, the irresistible advance, the Niagara rush of sweeping energy, the magnificent apparent destiny of this nation, wondering whereunto it would grow."

Herein is forced on us the great duty of the hour. We are making a nation, and hardly midway in the enterprise, and no work more sublime, no call to any labor higher and holier, may justly divert us or claim our forces.

[1] Morse's John Quincy Adams, p. 24.

The providences gone before and preparing the way, the raw material on hand by a natural or divine preparation, the work so auspiciously begun and the success attained, and the grand opportunity or chance which beckons us on to a great future, all declare one fact, — that the American people have an offer to make a nation to order. Separated from the old nations by an ocean, and in a land unencumbered by traditional and inherited régimes; with none of their wreck and débris on our new building-ground, and in advance of the fossiliferous period of governments, we may build to our own model. Inheriting all the knowledge and experience, but none of the authority or dictation of preceding nations, in an advanced era when civil society has both the right and the duty of improved models, and in a domain new, inviting to human homes, and ample beyond all precedent, the human race never elsewhere had so good a hope of forward movement. The non-governing masses of the Old World hang in anxiety on our experiment.

While such issues are pending in our struggle to make a continent into a State, we must not be persuaded to fritter away our forces in regulating and reconstructing unfortunate and inferior sections of the Old World. While we have a Chicago and San Francisco to build, it is not for us to rebuild Thebes and Carthage. And with hints now and then, in our cities and on our frontier, of mediæ-

val civilization in the United States, furnished by nihilists, anarchists, socialists, and atheists, the question grows with our country and its dangers, how much conservating and elevating power we can wisely export.

The fact must not be forgotten that when a monarchical government weakens or dissolves, the restoration of order usually lies in the line of more liberty for the people. So revolution under monarchy is never without a possible remedy, and the final rest and ultimate hope are in a government by the people and for the people. If that anchorage fail, all goes adrift on the sea of anarchy. The American people have now arrived where the old question confronts them: Are a people competent for self-government? Only with a fair and balancing proportion of intellectual and moral force in the body politic; and during the last two or three decades our Government has had some suggestions of great gravity in this direction. With two millions of voters who cannot read and write their own ballots, the United States may well consider why there are so many dead republics.

The marked weaknesses of the Republic show themselves in our illiteracy, immorality, and irreligion; and the one continental work of the American people will tax the wisest and most benevolent and sacrificing, — to guard the nation against these dangers. This is to be said more emphatically because, under our system of government, much

of this work must be done, not by statute and taxation, but by the benevolent hand and voluntary contributions of the people. The immensity of the field and the success or failure of the American endeavor call for a most discriminating proportional division of all our charitable contributions and endowments and benevolent work.

Nor will it be enough for the good and the devout to hope and trust. There is too much lazy reliance on Providence. That will not save the Republic. The Christian creed and practice of such could be improved by using so much paganism as was hinted by Jupiter to the stalled and praying wagoner, — to put his own shoulder to the wheel. When the Boston Port Bill was announced to the Connecticut Assembly, it "appointed a day of humiliation and prayer, and ordered an inventory to be taken of the cannon and military stores," — a very sensible combination of forces in saving one's country. And generally, in the Colonies, on that event so menacing the welfare of the country, "bells were muffled and tolled from morning till night, flags were kept at half-mast, streets were dressed in mourning, public buildings and shops were draped in black, large congregations filled the churches."[1] So the Congress in session at Philadelphia made address to the people by the pen of Richard Henry Lee: "Above all things we earnestly entreat you with devotion of spirit, peni-

[1] Frothingham's Rise of the Republic, p. 324.

tence of heart, and amendment of life, to humble yourselves and implore the power of Almighty God." And when Cornwallis surrendered, Congress most properly "went in procession to church to give thanks to Almighty God for the victory."

But with all this religious devotion and fasting and thanksgiving, no people ever so labored and sacrificed for a desired end, as if the result rested on their struggles. We are yet in the founding of the Republic, and by no means past the era of anxiety, with the memory and admonition that of all the European republics, first and last, only three survive. Almost all the members of the republican family of government are dead, as of a short-lived race. They have died, moreover, of illiteracy, immorality, and irreligion. I have already said that the genius of our Government does not provide by constitution or statute for moral or religious qualities in the people, or for the highest institutions of learning. It approbates and encourages these, but leaves them to be secured by the voluntary and benevolent action of the people. In later years wealth, scholarship, science, and æsthetics have gained patronage, endowment, and popularity in great advance of those personal qualities which ornament life as the beatitudes, and crown manhood.

Very much work remains to be done, and indeed is constantly accumulating, for which wide popular contributions and single princely gifts must lay

the foundations. The church, the college, and the professional school must have early and commanding position in the new country west of the Alleghanies, as they did in the country east of the Alleghanies when it was new, if we would have men come to the front who are competent and worthy to found and lead a State. It is well enough, and perhaps timely, to repeat here what Benton said in 1844, in his speech in the Senate, on Texas, or Disunion: "Superficial readers believe it was the military men who destroyed the Roman Republic. No such thing. It was the politicians who did it, — factious, corrupt, intriguing politicians; destroying public virtue in their mad pursuit after office; destroying their rivals by crime; deceiving and debauching the people for votes; and bringing elections into contempt by the frauds and violence with which they were conducted."[1]

Honored names have gone into our new country, as the people have carried the nation that way, and have taken their place in American history in philanthropic, humane, educational, and Christian institutions, just as the names we now honor and love gained their places in the colonial era, and in the years following the colonial. No patriots, in the field or the forum, can be more worthily called the founders of the Republic; and if we would continue to build as wisely as the

[1] Benton's Thirty Years' View, vol. ii. p. 615.

fathers, such men must be found; and they must be multiplied, too, for an area five times as large and for a population fifteen times as large as those fathers had in the Revolutionary epoch. It is all most filial and reverent to enclose expensively Jacob's Well, and erect a noble monument there to the patriarch. Meanwhile the great American caravan, moving west with the tread of a nation, must have other wells and drinking fountains provided.

No nation ever yet had so successful a past in a period so brief. In one century we have gone up from a colonial state, where the British Ministry were unwilling that we should manufacture a teacup, to stand in the first rank of manufacturing a nation. And yet we seem to be but in the beginning of our career, as a ship outward bound for the farthest ocean, which is still in sight of home headlands, and has just laid her course. No nation ever had so auspicious a future. Still young and crude, in the gristle rather than the bone, our possible history is mostly before us, in tempting susceptibilities and rude, massive material. No nation ever came so near to having innumerable possibilities and unlimited area for building itself.

St. Peter's at Rome was begun nearly four hundred years ago — 1506 — and is yet unfinished. The building of it still goes on, according to its original and grand plan. Twelve generations of

workmen have come and gone over its scaffoldings, and still the work goes on with a constantly new grandeur and glory. All this is architectural.

The American structure, sacred and civil, the building of the State, was begun nearly three hundred years ago. And still the work goes on. Nine generations of workmen have come and gone over its scaffoldings, and we are the tenth, and, like our fathers, building better than we know. Occasionally, in our poor apprentice work, and through the haze of our poor eyes, there comes to view a new corridor or aisle, turret or dome, and often ampler interior courts; and so there opens up, wider and deeper, the grandeur of the architecture, as on a plan of men inspired for statemanship. So majestically has the building of the American State gone on.

In his first inaugural Washington said: "Every step by which they [the Americans] have advanced to the character of an independent nation seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency." It is for us to look back and see these divine tokens in what has been accomplished in founding the State, and so discover the plan on which we are building. So the work already accomplished will foretell our future labors, which prophetic statesmen have outlined. It is for us to study and comprehend all this, and hasten the enterprise, — the building of the Empire of the Future.

The world of high art cannot afford to leave St. Peter's unfinished, nor the world of highest civilization the building of the United States of To-morrow. And when this American structure is finished, it shall be said of it, as Byron says of St. Peter's, though with an import infinitely deeper and nobler: —

> "But thou, of temples old and altars new,
> Standest alone, with nothing like to thee."

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